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MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE WHITEHEAD;

A Minister of the Gospel

IN THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:

BEING THE SUBSTANCE

of the

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

And published after his decease, in the Year 1725,

UNDER THE TITLE OF

"His Christian Progress;"

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A SELECTION FROM HIS OTHER WORKS.

ALSO

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

By SAMUEL TUKE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

"If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless."

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PREFACE.

The historical account which George Whitehead has left of his own "Christian Progress," is so much interwoven with the early history of the religious Society of Friends, that, independently of the instructive exhibition which it affords of individual character, it has a strong claim on the attention of those who now profess the principles which he advocated so boldly, and for which he suffered with so much constancy.

These Memoirs, indeed, contain more information relative to the early proceedings of the Society, than those of any other individual, except it be the life of George Fox. Convinced when under age of the doctrines preached by that reformer, he became very soon an active and zealous minister of the truths which he had embraced, and continued for nearly seventy years to labour by word and example in the support of them.

Stevens Son & Stiles 12 Mar. 1943 - 2 Vol.

It has been the lot of few persons to occupy an active sphere for so long a period of time as was the case with George Whitehead. He was born in the reign of Charles I. Under the Commonwealth, and in the reign of Charles II. he suffered many severe persecutions. He visited several times the court of Charles, to plead with him on behalf of the cause of religious liberty. These efforts were continued during the short reign of James II.; and during the reign of William and Mary, when a brighter day dawned on the civil and religious liberties of England, he exerted himself, by personal and written representations, to obtain for the Society the free exercise of religious worship, the liberation of the members who, chiefly for ecclesiastical demands, were still suffering cruel imprisonments, and the admission of the affirmation of Friends instead of an oath in all civil cases.

He had several interviews with George I., in which he earnestly pleaded the great cause of religious liberty; and having been introduced to the young prince, afterwards George II., he endeavoured to impress his mind with the same important subject. He was thus during the five reigns succeeding the Commonwealth, one of the most strenuous advocates of our principles, and of religious liberty in general; and

very frequently the organ of the Society of Friends, at the court of the English monarchs.

To us who are enjoying those civil and religious privileges, which he was in so considerable a degree instrumental in obtaining, the account which he has given of his proceedings, though it may at times be charged with prolixity, can hardly fail to be interesting.

In this republication of George Whitehead's valuable work, it has however been deemed best to present many of the details in a curtailed or condensed form. The curtailments are chiefly in the accounts of polemical discussions and law proceedings; but several other parts which appeared to be redundant have been omitted in this edition; and where more than one account is given of the same transaction, that which appeared the most complete has been selected, or the substance of the whole has been re-written without adhering to the author's words.

The editor has also ventured in several cases to add a few historical particulars, to make the work more completely illustrative of the character of the Society, and the state of the public mind at the period to which it refers. The whole, notwithstanding the curtailments, will give the reader a pretty clear insight into the

rise, progress, and principles of the Society of Friends; nor will its details, the editor trusts, be found uninteresting to the inquirer into the history of the civil and religious liberties of England, as connected with that most important and interesting period of our annals which these Memoirs embrace.

The present work was originally designed to have been comprised in one volume, and it would no doubt have been more agreeable to some readers in a more condensed form; but as an historical record, and with a view of preserving the clear view which the original memoirs frequently give of the varied engagements of our early Friends; much greater curtailment than has been made, did not, to the editor, seem desirable. He is nevertheless far from imagining, that he has always drawn the line exactly where it ought to have been, and he cannot be much disappointed if he should have failed to please his friends, since, on many occasions, he has failed to please himself.* Leaving however his own imperfections, he can safely recommend the perusal of the work, to all those of the Society

* The editor wishes to acknowledge the advantage he has frequently derived from the use of a copy of the "Christian Progress," marked, with a view to a somewhat similar republication, by his friend Edward Pease of Darlington.

of Friends, who feel an interest in the history of the Church to which they belong.

George Whitehead was a voluminous writer. Besides his "Christian Progress" the editor has before him no less than ninety tracts, some of them of a very considerable length. They are chiefly controversial. The earlier ones appear to have been written in much haste; and much cannot be said in favour either of their general talent or temper. In both these respects, the later productions are decidedly superior; and several of them contain clear and able refutations of the charges with which Friends were then assailed. As he grew in years, he evidently grew both in graces and in gifts. There are among his tracts several "Epistles to Friends," which mark deep Christian experience and a truly pastoral care over the Society. One of these, printed in the year 1689, is inserted at the close of the work, and will be found well worthy of perusal in the present day. The Appendix also contains the last controversial work in which the author appears to have been engaged, written in the year 1712; and an important document issued by the Society in the year 1693, illustrative of its Christian principles at that early period. There is considerable reason to believe, that this declaration of Christian faith was compiled by

George Whitehead ; and its insertion accords with the editor's design in the publication of this work, which is, THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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INTRODUCTION.

It may not perhaps be wholly useless, especially to my younger readers, to make a few introductory observations, which have been suggested in the compilation of the present work, on the *character and conduct of the early Friends*, and on *the important subject of liberty of conscience*, the history of which, in this country, will be found considerably illustrated in this Memoir.

The religious Society of Friends was originally an association of persons earnestly seeking to obtain that true knowledge of God and of Christ, which is life eternal. Many of them were men esteemed in the several religious professions to which they belonged, for their practical experience and piety; yet notwithstanding what they already knew, their consciences were not satisfied, and they were led to believe, that a further acquaintance with Divine teachings than they yet possessed was to be obtained. They felt that they needed to know more of the work

of regeneration, and of the power of Christ to renew them into his own Image, than they experienced under the various teachings and ordinances on which they had been led in part at least to depend.

They were men whose minds were richly imbued with Scripture truth, and not a few of them were very conversant with the theological controversies of their own and former days. Some of them, prior to the preaching of George Fox, had separated themselves from other communities and met together in a very simple way, earnestly looking and praying for the fuller knowledge of redemption from sin, and of that peace of mind which passeth all understanding. Whilst thus seeking for Truth, already exposed to the reproaches of their self-satisfied friends, they were led to believe that whilst they had dwelt much on the atonement of Christ, they had not sufficiently dwelt on the operations of that Holy Spirit and Comforter, who was to consummate the Gospel, to guide into all truth, and *by whom*, the apostle says, *through Christ we have access unto the Father*. Of this Divine Communion they believed they were made sensible partakers, and in it they found that consolation which they had long sought after and prayed for.

As it was by sin that man lost the Divine Image and excellence in which he was created, so they believed the restoration by Christ to be equal to the loss by Adam, and that he who *fully* embraced the Gospel would be so guided into all truth, that sin might be effectually resisted and Christ followed.

These views of the operations of the Holy Spirit and of the possibility of freedom from sin, I believe to have been the foundation of what is called Quakerism; and they led to or were immediately connected with, a clearer view of the nature and spirituality of the Gospel Dispensation—the extent of the apostacy from its simplicity and purity—and the inconsistency therewith of many practices which prevailed extensively in the reformed Churches. When George Fox travelled into various parts of England, calling men from all traditional knowledge, by which in the days of apostacy Gospel truth had been overlaid, to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, and showed the conformity of his views with the Divine testimony of Scripture, he found many prepared to receive the Truth which he proclaimed, as the answer to their prayers and the direction of their search. Though the embracing of these truths was the occasion of obloquy and suffering, they were welcome to them as the dawning of the morning to the mariner, after a long and stormy night.

The office of the Holy Spirit or Divine Light as the Guide unto all Truth, became the great theme of their contemplation and their preaching, as that doctrine which being most fatal to satan's kingdom in men's hearts, he had been most busy in perverting; and which, as it was most opposed to man's unholy nature, so it was that which by nature he was most willing to have concealed from his view. They did not, as was imputed to them, set up this doctrine in opposition to

that of the atonement and mediation of Christ; but they warned men against any dependence on Christ, without knowing Him to be formed in them and their hearts to be brought into subjection to his Spirit. They did not, as they were aspersed, set aside the Holy Scriptures to make way for any fancies of their own; but they warned men against resting satisfied with a Scripture knowledge, without knowing the true faith in Christ through which alone they lead to salvation. They valued the Holy Scriptures as inspired records of the Divine will—they read and quoted them freely, and recommended to others the perusal of them; but they believed that, as the brazen serpent which had been the instrument of the Divine mercy to the Israelites, afterwards became the object of their idolatry, so were there many people who were ready to worship the *book*, whilst they neglected or opposed the Spirit by which it was written.

They had a deep sense of man's corruption and of the Divine purity. They taught that every motion of good in the heart of man, from the first conviction of sin to the full assurance of faith, was through the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit. That in man, as man, there was no good thing; and that, as it was through the free Grace of God in Christ that any sinner was awakened to the error of his way, and not *essentially* through any outward means of instruction, however the Divine Influence might be usually connected with such means; so it was to that Divine Grace, as the means of still further enlightening the conscience, and of carrying on

the work of sanctification, that men were to be mainly directed to seek.

This Divine Light in the conscience would, they believed, lead to the perception that many things were contrary to the Divine will, which were not *especially* pointed out in Holy Scripture; whilst the testimony of the Inspired Writings would *in all respects be confirmed*, and the reader enabled to understand them to spiritual edification. The Holy Spirit would open the mystery of Christ truly, glorifying Him and receiving of his and showing it unto us. Thus they believed was the Christian enabled to become truly wise—to die unto sin and to be made alive unto righteousness.

To bring men to the knowledge of this Great Teacher, was the labour of those faithful men who, like the subject of this memoir, were singularly called and endued with power to preach with boldness, and to rejoice in being counted worthy to suffer for the Name of Christ.

It appears that what these Christian worthies were engaged to do, was not to add another to the many names which divide Christendom;—it was not merely to testify against priestly usurpation, the practice of war, oaths, and the indulgence in some particular evidences of the worldly spirit;—these were the accompaniments of their great and paramount engagement; which was to declare God's controversy with sin, and the means by which it might be subdued; not omitting to proclaim the alone ground of a sinner's pardon,

through the propitiatory sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

So impressed were they with the terrors of the Lord for evil, and the unfathomable depth of his mercies, that they spoke of them with an awful reverence; the feeling of which induced in some a trembling of the body, from which they derived, from a persecuting magistrate, the name of Quaker; and though it be one of scorn and reproach, he who knows and has felt any thing of its meaning will not be ashamed to own it. For however conformable any may be in what are termed the "peculiarities" of our Society, if they have not been brought to see their lost estate by nature, and to *tremble* under the sense of the Divine displeasure as the prelude to the hope of God's mercy, they have yet to learn the very rudiments of their Quakerism.

The experience of the true Quaker, though it may begin and be carried on in judgment, will be accompanied by and will end in mercy. Nowhere do I find in Christian records more striking instances of hope in Christ—of joy in believing—and of the assurance of faith, than in the experience of those who were instrumental in the planting of our Church. They had a strong abiding sense of the almightiness of God. The creatures, however powerful they might seem, sunk into insignificance in their view, whenever they attempted to lift their puny arms in contravention of what they believed to be the Divine will. *

* Dr. Owen in his work on spiritual mindedness has well

I would by no means represent them as free from imperfection, which I believe attaches to all the exhibitions of Christian excellence in mere human form. I cannot myself approve of every act which I read of in their history; I confess also that in the exultations of the great doctrine of the Light of Christ in the heart, they do appear to me not always to have given quite the due proportion of importance to the outward revelation of Christ, in the Holy Scriptures; but whilst making this concession to their opponents, which truth constrains me to make, I can see that they were sincere and devout seekers of Divine truth, and that they drank largely at the Fountain of Divine knowledge; and when I look at the important testimonies which they maintained—at their unwearied labours—their unfeigned love—their steadfast faith—their constancy and their meekness in suffering, I cannot but venerate their character for their works' sake; I believe that they were eminently raised up, to recall the Church of Christ from its wanderings, and to set before it the simplicity and purity of its primitive faith and worship:—that faith which worketh by love, to the purifying of the heart; and that worship which, through the Holy Spirit, is to be performed in the temple of the soul.

Had the opinions we have described been the mere

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observed: "To believe the almighty power of God with reference to ourselves and all our concerns, temporal and eternal, is one of the highest and most noble acts of faith, which includes all others in it."

result of a course of reasoning, even from the Holy Scripture; and had they not been accompanied by a lively faith, which brought them so into action as to oppose the interests and prejudices of many of their fellow professors, they might have been permitted to share the fate of the party to which they happened to belong; but when their views not only led them to refrain from, as superstitious, many things which were highly esteemed in the religious world; but also to go forth zealously to proclaim to others what they believed to be truth, and many were thereby convinced and led to desert their former professions; the various sects and parties of that day were stirred up, as with one accord, against this people, and succeeded in persuading many even devout persons, that the Quakers were the enemies of religion and of Christ. No imputations were too foul to charge upon this people—no indignity too great to offer—no sufferings too severe to inflict. They became at once the laughing stock and the whipping stock of all parties.

Many however were led by this very treatment, to look more inquisitively into their doctrines and manners;—they remembered that the way of Truth had been heretofore every where spoken against, and when they found that these objects of general reproach were industrious in their callings and exemplary in all the duties of social life, and that nevertheless they were ready to forsake houses and lands, parents and children, rather than disobey what they believed to be the law of Christ—the inquirers were often led to

conclude, that these much despised people, were indeed true followers of Him who and whose disciples were not of the world, and therefore the world hated them.

And it is worthy of remark, how much this kind of conviction, not founded on a minute, inductive process, but resting chiefly on what may be termed internal evidence, has been the course through which the Head of the Church has, in all periods, thought fit to gather his people out of the world. In the opening of the Gospel day, though accompanied by extraordinary miracles, there was much of this process to be observed; and in the subsequent revivals of Divine truth, whether in Germany, Switzerland, or England, it will, I believe, be found, that a large majority of converts were led by a sense of Truth in the main—by finding a conformity of the doctrines preached, with the Witness for God in themselves, rather than by a course of minute investigation. Indeed, if the knowledge of the Gospel required this, it could no more be said to be preached to the poor, nor plain to the wayfaring man.

Many among the early converts to Quakerism, who had been wise and great in this world, were made to rejoice in the laying down of their outward wisdom, and in sitting down in deep humility to learn of Jesus by the teaching of the Holy Spirit in the heart, who as He is waited for, will so bring into remembrance what Christ has said, as to make his words Spirit and Life unto them. They could say with the apostle: "I

glory in nothing save in the cross of Christ, whereby I am crucified unto the world and the world unto me."

It was by the zealous preaching of this foolishness—and by the illustration of it in lives of singular piety and self-denial, that our fathers were gathered to be a people; and it is only by a similar course, that we can become or be preserved such a people as they were.

The conduct of the Society of Friends, as detailed in the following pages, derives an increased interest from its intimate connexion with the history of our present religious liberty.

Some persons doubt the propriety of reviving the records of ancient persecutions; I can truly say, they are not brought forward in the present work to excite unpleasant feeling towards any sect or party whose name may have been in those times unhappily connected with persecuting proceedings. But the fidelity of history, and the important lessons which are to be derived from experience, require that such events should not be concealed or even allowed to be forgotten. On no subject are the lessons of past experience of more importance, than in what regards *liberty of conscience*. We enjoy this privilege in an eminent degree in England; it behoves us that we watch over it with a vigilant care, and cherish the recollection of the means by which it has been obtained, as intimately connected with the knowledge of those by which this invaluable blessing is to be preserved and extended.

I cannot agree with those who think that religious privileges can never again be invaded, and that the diffusion of general knowledge in England is an ample security against the recurrence of persecution. The spirit of persecution is one of the features of man's depravity, intimately connected with his pride, his selfishness, and his lust of power; and unless these roots are extirpated from the human soil, I see no security for their not bearing similar fruit, though varied by the circumstances of climate and culture.

Superstition has generally been intimately connected with persecution, but they are by no means inseparable. Irreligion is no less opposed to the claims of *tender conscience*, than superstition. It unites at present with Christian charity, in the opposition to Christians persecuting one another for their various opinions; but this is quite a different thing from the recognition of those inalienable *rights of conscience*, for which our early Friends so earnestly contended and so patiently suffered. The mere worldly philosopher, though looking with deserved contempt on the violent animosities of contending religionists, and thus acting as a salutary check upon their violences, has an equal contempt for what appear to him to be the needless scruples and the annoying zeal of the man who religiously exercises himself to keep a *conscience void of offence towards God and men;* and when the avoidance or performance of those things which the Christian engaged in this service finds to be required of him, is opposed to the views

of the philosopher, no one is more ready to use his authority to enforce his will and pleasure. Amongst the bitterest persecutors and revilers of primitive Christianity, history records the names of some of the wisest and mildest of the Cesars, and the most liberal and enlightened of Roman and Grecian philosophers. The history of the French revolution has shown, that persecution may exist under a government which has renounced the signs and substance of all religion, except the homage of an unknown Deity in the pretended temple of reason. Recent events have also shown, that in protestant states professing liberal opinions, direct persecution can rear its head; and in our own parliament, the claims of tender conscience have lately been treated with very little respect.

Thus the *idol of uniformity* has been set up, alike by the infidel illuminatè of France, the pope of Rome, the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent protestants of England and Scotland, and lastly but not less strikingly, by several of the once Calvinistic but now it is said Socinian churches of the Swiss cantons.

Persecution under all its *forms* is one in *root*. It is the mystery of iniquity setting itself in the place of God, and attempting to rule over the consciences of men. It has worked and will continue to work, wherever the humbling and restraining influences of Gospel truth are *practically* unknown. It is the opposition of satan's kingdom to the kingdom of Christ; the former of which stands in pride, tyranny,

and violence, the latter in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

The difference between satan and Christ's kingdom, has been too much considered as an affair of *words* rather than of *things*. How often, under the mask of religious zeal, has *evil* been as busily at work as in its most obvious manifestations. Satan has hardly more effectually established his cruel kingdom amongst men by the worship of Moloch in heathen countries, than in what is called *Christendom* by setting up the idol of uniformity.

Views similar to these appear to have been taken by our early Friends, and to have led them to raise, at a period when the various parties were each contending for power, the pure standard of universal liberty of conscience; and to press upon men to look more to the genuine fruits of the Spirit, as the tests of their Christianity, than to any form of words or any explanations of Divine truth which human wisdom had been able to propose: and it is no mean collateral evidence to the general correctness of their theological views, that they were led by them whilst seeking liberty for all, earnestly to contend and patiently to suffer for what they believed to be the great precepts of the Gospel of Christ—the simplicity of his worship and the purity of his faith.

It is worthy of notice, that in almost all cases, as churches have declined in purity, they have increased in zeal for circumstantials—for words and systems rather than for the immutable principles of Truth,

evidenced by holiness of life and the humble forgiving spirit of the Saviour. Then, to borrow the words of Calvin: "So soon as any word is spoken of the abrogating of the ordinances of men, by and by great troubles are raised up, partly by seditious men, partly by slanderers, as though the whole obedience of men were at once taken away and overthrown." Nor is it less observable that "the most virulent enemies of vital godliness are often extremely tenacious of their own inventions in religion, by which they dress up a vain pageant to amuse their consciences and to impose on the ignorant." *Scott on Matt.* xv. 1.

Then you may see the Christian pharisee, negligent of the weightier matters of the law—mercy and truth—earnestly contending for the tithe of his anise and cummin, and uniting with the licentious sadducee in the opposition to the true servants of Christ, and in defence of their common kingdom, which is that of the god of this world. So it has ever been found in corrupt churches, that men may be formalists or licentious; whilst they, who in a tender conscience towards God, are led to refuse compliance with their institutions, or who are constrained by the love of Christ to proclaim aloud to sinners the mercy and the judgments of God by Christ, and to rend away their false covering and their false hopes, have ever been the objects of cruel persecutions or contumely. There is a striking passage in Lord Cobham's trial, in illustration of this view: "For the most flagrant transgressions of God's moral law," said he, "was I never once called in question

by them. I have expressed some dislike to their arbitrary appointments and traditions, and I am treated with unparalleled severity. But let them remember the denunciations of Christ against the pharisees: all shall be fulfilled." Many illustrations of a similar kind will be found in the following memoirs.

Men professing to be the holy bishops and ministers of Christ's Church, whilst they tolerated amongst themselves covetousness, extortion, and profligacy, persecuted to death the conscientious and self-denying dissenter from their ordinances; and even they who had those vices written upon their front, could avow themselves as the champions of Christ's Church and the defenders of his faith. Such are the wolves in sheep's clothing, who, though their creed may be cut to the exactest orthodoxy, have ever sought the destruction of the lambs of Christ. There is still great reason to unite in that passage of the prayer attributed to Charles I. during his afflictions: "Make them at length seriously to consider, that *nothing violent and injurious can be religious.*"

Whilst however we believe the root of persecution will be found in the corrupt affections of the human heart, and that our utmost vigilance is required to repress its growth; it must be admitted that its history affords many instances of a more anomalous character than those which we have just pourtrayed. The light of the reformation, glorious as it was, did but partially dispel the mists of the long night of apostacy which had preceded it. What judaism was to Peter,

educational prejudices and opinions were to many good men in former days, when they were first awakened to see the corruptions of the Romish church. Like him they were led to take far too exclusive views of the nature of Christ's Church, and hence to sanction practices which would be altogether incompatible with the same degree of piety under the clearer views of the present day.

It is a subject of more than mere curiosity to inquire, how those clearer views have been obtained; and it will particularly accord with the position of the present essay to inquire, whether our religious Society has had any and what share in the production of them.

It may I think be fairly said, that at the time of the rise of our Society, there was no class or body of men, who admitted that every man had an inalienable right to worship God in such manner as to his individual conscience appeared right; doctrines the early Friends boldly maintained. The spirit of popish exclusiveness hung about all churches. In spite of the noble declaration of Chillingworth, that the Bible and the Bible alone was the religion of protestants; each church party was ambitious of an impure alliance with the state, that they might enforce, as far as they were able, their own interpretation of Scripture doctrine and church government: and whilst the more active spirits in these political arrangements were rarely those who had much claim to Christian character, it can hardly be doubted that many, to whom we cannot deny in other respects this honour, concurred in the

domineering influence of their own party, and would not grant to others that right of private judgment, the refusal of which to themselves had been the subject of their heavy complaint. Few things are more difficult to reconcile with the character of a disciple of Christ, than this apparent want of its distinguishing badge; and the long continuance of such discrepancies in what is termed the reformed Church, ought to make us encreasingly sedulous to seek and maintain the Truth in its primitive purity and loveliness.

Among the causes which contributed to prepare the people of England for mutual toleration, the variety of its religious parties, and that fluctuation in their circumstances by which they were all by turn subjected to suffering and raised to power, within the few years from the death of Charles the First to the restoration of his brother to the English throne, may fairly be enumerated. It afforded a practical lesson on the folly of intolerance, and the wisdom of mutual charity and forbearance. Men who were suffering under the ecclesiastical domination of others, could hardly avoid using arguments for their relief which applied to others as well as themselves; and those who had used such arguments could not altogether deny their force, when, themselves advanced to authority, they were urged by those whom they oppressed. It is only surprizing, that the obstinacy of men's pride and prejudices made them resist so long as they did these powerful lessons. They had, however, doubtless a great though silent influence, and prepared the way

for the writings of such men as John Locke, and Jeremy Taylor, and William Penn, who nobly advocated the cause of religious liberty and no doubt produced a powerful impression on the public mind. But though the writings of several members of the Society of Friends, bear ample testimony to their views in regard to religious liberty; it was by their conduct—by arguments of a practical kind—that they mainly promoted this great cause. The conduct of the Society, as detailed in the following pages, appears to me to be intimately connected with the history of our present degree of religious liberty. They held many things to be contrary to the direct injunctions of Christ or the spirit of his Gospel, which others held to be necessary or lawful. They refused actively to comply with any command which their consciences did not approve; and maintained, that the civil magistrate had no right to interfere in matters of religious observance, or to enforce any act which was contrary to a man's conviction of right, unless it were absolutely required by the welfare of the state.

How bold they were on every occasion in contending for truth and justice, and patient in suffering for their testimony to them, the following pages abundantly show; and it is remarkable, that under the persecutions which more or less attached to all the nonconformists of those days, the most *peaceable* class was decidedly the most *courageous*. Whilst practically maintaining the doctrine of nonresistance, and therefore appearing to support the principle of passive

obedience, there was not any people who made such large and persisting demands for full liberty of conscience, or who did more to influence the government not merely to sanction one or two sects, but to extend the principle itself. It was evident that they could be subdued by nothing short of extirpation; for whilst no violence or cruelty could drive them to resistance, so neither could it deter them from the steady discharge of what they esteemed their duty to God and men, when actual force did not prevent them. The account of these uncompromising proceedings and their results, though the former were esteemed *foolishness* by the world, is full of instruction, and affords a practical comment on the words of our Lord, that "Wisdom is justified of all her children."

Brief notice of George Whitehead; taken chiefly from the Testimony respecting him, given by the Monthly Meeting of Devonshire-House, in London, of which he was a member.

He was born at Sun Bigs, in the parish of Orton, in Westmoreland, about the year 1636. He was educated at a grammar school in that neighbourhood, and appears to have made such progress in his literary pursuits as to have been employed for some time as a tutor. His parents had a view to educating him for the office of a minister in the Established Church, and his religious disposition and inquiring mind no doubt raised their sanguine hopes of his fitness for the office. In his seventeenth year, however, he embraced the opinions of the then universally despised Quakers; and in the following year he went forth, travelling on foot, to preach the Truth in several of the midland counties, and on one occasion nearly all the persons composing a meeting which he was addressing were convinced through his lively testimony and prayer.

"He was one," says the document referred to, "whom the Lord had fitly qualified and prepared by his Divine Power and Holy Spirit, for that work whereunto he was called, and whereby he was made

one of the most able ministers of the Gospel in our day. He was a large experiencer of the work of God and deep mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, and was frequently opened in meetings to declare of and unfold the same, in the clear demonstration of the Spirit and Power; dividing the word aright, to the opening and convincing the understandings of many who were unacquainted with the way and work of Truth, and to the comforting, confirming, and establishing of the people and children of the Lord, in their journey and travel Zion-ward.

"He was not only a zealous contender for and assertor of the true faith and doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in a sound and intelligible testimony, but also was valiant and skilful in the defence thereof against adversaries and opposers of the same; and one who through a long course of many days, was careful to adorn the doctrine of our holy profession by a circumspect life and godly conversation, wherein the fruits of the Spirit, viz. love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance, did eminently shine forth through him to the praise and glory of God.

"Being thus qualified and of a meek and peaceable disposition, he was had in good esteem amongst most sorts of people that were acquainted with him; which tended much to the opening his way in his public service for Truth, and frequent solicitations unto several kings and parliaments, bishops and great men of this our land, for the relief and release of his suffering

friends and brethren under sore persecutions and hard imprisonments, and for liberty of conscience, and also for relief in the case of oaths: in which labour of love and eminent services among other brethren, this our dear Friend was principally exercised; and the Lord was with him and made way for him in the hearts of the rulers of the land, so that his faithful labour was often crowned with success, to the comforting and rejoicing of the hearts of many suffering brethren.

"He was a good example to the flock, in his diligent frequenting of first and week-day meetings for public worship, and other meetings for the service of Truth, so long as his ability of body remained; willing to take all opportunities for publishing and promoting the Truth; zealous to support good order and discipline in the Church of Christ: and as he was not for taking hold suddenly of any, so he was as exemplary in not being forward to cast any off, in whom there appeared any thing that was good; being always desirous to encourage the good in all, condescending to the weak but admonishing the faulty in the spirit of meekness and wisdom, that they might be preserved in love to Truth, and come into the unity of the one Spirit which is the bond of peace.

"We may truly say, he was a tender father in the Church and as such was of great compassion, sympathizing with Friends under affliction whether in body or mind; a diligent visitor of the sick, and labouring to comfort the mourning soul: careful to prevent and diligent in composing differences.

"Dear Friends, much more we might say on the behalf of this our dear deceased Friend, an elder worthy of double honour; but it is not with us to give large encomiums of the dead; we have rather chosen to give but short hints of some of the Christian virtues and qualifications he was endued withal, believing there is a Witness in the hearts of many yet remaining, that doth testify for him and his faithful labours and service in his day; desiring the Lord may raise up many in the room of this and other worthy elders, some of whom are lately removed from us, and, we believe, taken into mansions of glory in the kingdom of God.

"It pleased the Lord to visit this our dear Friend with some severe pains and weakness of body, so that he was disabled for some weeks from getting to meetings; but he often expressed his desires for the welfare of the Church of Christ, and that Friends might live in love and unity.

"He continued in a patient resigned frame of mind to the will of God, waiting for his great change; rather desiring to be dissolved and be with Christ, saying: 'The sting of death was taken away.' He expressed a little before his departure, that he had a renewed sight or remembrance of his labours and travels, that he had gone through from his first convincement; he looked upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admired how the Presence of the Lord had attended and carried him through them all.

"He departed this life in great peace and quiet, the 8th day of the 1st month, 1722–3, about the eighty-seventh year of his age; and we firmly believe he died in the Lord, and is at rest from his labours, and his works follow him.

"He was a minister of the Gospel about sixty-eight years; and was buried the 13th of the 1st month, in Friends' burying ground near Bunhill Fields, amongst many of his ancient brethren; being attended by a very large number of Friends and others.

"Signed in and on the behalf of the Monthly Meeting at Devonshire-House, the 15th day of the 3rd month, 1723, by forty Friends."

A short testimony to the excellence of George Whitehead's character was given by his intimate friend Richard Claridge, who was an eminent minister of the Society.

MEMOIRS, &c.

SECTION I.

George Whitehead's reasons for preparing his own Memoirs.—His account of his early life—and of his convincement of the doctrines of Friends.

Remembering the Lord our Gracious God in his ways, and merciful dealings with me from my youth; how He found me among his lost and strayed sheep, on the barren mountains of fruitless professions, and how He drew me to an inward experience of his Power and sanctifying work in my heart, and to know his teaching and spiritual ministry; thereby to enable me by degrees, experimentally to minister to others, and oblige me to live accordingly; as also to suffer patiently, with resignation of liberty and life for Christ's sake, when called thereunto, and being supported by his Power,

and cheerfully carried through many great trials and deep sufferings for his Name's sake, and having had many eminent deliverances and preservations, even from my young years; I say, considering these things, I have been the more concerned for my friends and brethren, who for conscience' sake have deeply suffered by imprisonments, and spoil of goods; and in the tender bowels of Christ Jesus have truly sympathized with the faithful in their sufferings and afflictions; and in His love been many times moved and stirred up to plead their innocent cause before authority, as well as to solicit with great industry on their behalf; wherein the hand of the Lord has been often with me, and his Presence and counsel have strengthened and helped me, in answer to my prayers and supplications; and his Power by degrees prevailed to mollify the hearts of many in the several governments towards us. Glory to the Name of the Lord our God, who pleaded the cause of the innocent!

For these reasons, a concern hath long been upon my spirit, to leave some remarks and footsteps, by an historical account, of my progress under the Lord's help and conduct, in his work and service: and in order thereto, to collect from divers papers, notes, and memorials I had reserved, some of those exercises and

transactions wherein I have been both actively and passively concerned on Truth's account; and to digest the same into such a plain method as briefly as I well could, and as I thought might be most intelligible, both in point of fact and doctrine, with such observations as might conduce to the good end intended, namely, the Glory of God, the honour of his excellent Name, and the advantage of the serious reader, the more to consider of his Divine Grace and goodness, which endure for ever, to them that love and fear Him.

From early inclinations and desires which the Lord was graciously pleased to stir up in my heart towards his blessed Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, I was drawn to be inquisitive after the knowledge thereof, and how to become truly penitent, and witness a true amendment of life from such a vain conversation as, in my childhood, I had been prone to; being partly educated under a Presbyterian ministry, which the Lord showed me in divers things, came short of what they professed and pretended in their worships, preachings, and prayings; insomuch that I could not cordially join with them, before I heard of the people called Quakers; and being at a loss in my spirit, for what I sometimes secretly desired and wanted, I was as one bewildered; and wandered farther, seeking among other

people who had some higher and more refined notions concerning Spiritual Gifts, &c. I was then about fourteen years of age.

After a short time, I heard of some people called Quakers, who trembled at the word of God; and observing how they were reviled and reproached by loose and wicked people, occasioned my further inquiry, and thereupon the Lord gave me to believe they were his people: and I did contend for them and their principles, so far as they were represented favourable to me, before I was at a meeting of theirs, or heard any of them minister.

And though the Lord had raised good desires in me towards Himself, that I might know true repentance unto life, yet those desires were often quenched, and my mind led away through an airy, light disposition, after music, vain mirth, and other vanities. Howbeit, the Lord was graciously pleased secretly to follow me with judgment and reproof in my very young years, and renewed desires in me after the right way; but I wanted to know a stay to my mind, while a hearer of the priests and other professors, not knowing, nor following that Light of Christ in me, which convinced and reproved me for the sins of my youth.

The light shone in darkness, as in a dark place, before it shone out of darkness: the

Spirit of the Lord moved upon the waters, even when darkness was upon the face of the great deep, before his works of old were wrought; and now, in order to bring forth his works in the new creation, and to make us new creatures in Christ Jesus, his Spirit moves upon peoples' hearts, even when unstable as waters; and his Light shines in them before they know God or Jesus Christ, in order to give them the knowledge of the glory and power of God, and of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

After some religious discourses with some young men soberly inclined, and when we had newly heard of a few people called Quakers, at Sedbergh, in Yorkshire, and in Kendal Barony in Westmoreland, I became desirous to go to a meeting of theirs, which was at one Captain Ward's, at a place called Sunny-Bank, near Grayrig-Chapel.

At my first going, when I came into the said meeting and sat down seriously among them, after a little space of silence, a friend, one Thomas Arey, spake a little while of the spiritual deliverances, travels, and progress of the Lord's people in his way and work; alluding to Israel's deliverance out of Egypt, from under Pharaoh and his task-masters, &c. All this I thought I easily understood allegorically, as spiritualized; but what was

most observable to me was, there appeared to me a great work of the Power of the Lord in the meeting, breaking the hearts of divers into great sorrow, weeping, and contrition of spirit; which I believed was a godly sorrow for sin, in order to unfeigned repentance.

I was the more confirmed herein, on seeing a young maid go mourning out of the meeting, whom I seriously followed to observe her sorrowful condition; and on beholding her seated on the ground, with her face toward the earth as if she regarded nobody present, as she, mourning bitterly, cried out: Lord! make me clean; O Lord! make me clean. This did far more tenderly and deeply affect my heart than what I had heard spoken, and more than all the preaching that ever I had heard from man; and was a certain testimony to me, the Spirit of the Lord evidencing to my spirit, that it was a real work of his Power upon her heart; which also operated upon the hearts of others, causing trembling, sorrow, and contrition, in order to bring them to true repentance and amendment of life, and so truly to experience the work of regeneration, and sanctification from sin and uncleanness; and accordingly such it proved unto many: glory to our God for ever!

These things having made deep impression upon my mind, I was the more confirmed in the

belief I had before, that the Lord was at work among that small despised people, and that He was about to gather and raise up a people unto Himself, to worship Him in spirit and in truth; for such He seeks to worship Him acceptably: and this worship is not in the dead and empty forms set up in the will of man.

Under these considerations I was induced soon to leave the parish-priests, or ministers made by the will of man, having no Divine authority from God, nor commission from Christ to teach others; themselves not being good examples to the flock, their pride and covetousness being contrary to Christ's command and his ministers' example; insomuch that I knew I ought to turn away from them, after the Lord by his Light opened my eyes, to see the blindness of those guides whom I had followed by education and tradition.

And though I met with opposition and hard speeches from some near relations and others, for confessing and vindicating TRUTH according to that little measure of understanding I then had, being as yet but weak and young in years, and beset with divers temptations and discouragements; yet the Lord my God helped and persuaded me to take up a resolution, not only wholly to leave the said priests, but also constantly to resort to the meetings of this des-

pised people called Quakers, and to sit down among them ; though then but few in number, in comparison of what they have been since. The meetings which I frequented were, for some time, in Sedbergh parish in Yorkshire, and sometimes at Grayrig, near Kendal, in Westmoreland, the county where I was born.

Some time after I was fully convinced and my mind turned to the Light, I was persuaded and resolved to persevere among Friends; before I heard our dear Friend G. Fox. The first time I heard him minister, was at an evening meeting at Sunny-Bank, at Captain Henry Ward's house. I was then very low, serious, and intent in my mind; willing to see and taste for myself, for my own inward satisfaction ; and I saw and felt his testimony was weighty and deep, and that it proceeded from life and experience, and did bespeak Divine Revelation, and tended to bring to an inward feeling and sense of the Life and Power of Christ, and the sanctifying operation thereof in the heart. His speech was not with affected eloquence or oratory, or human wisdom, but in the simplicity of the Gospel, to turn the mind to the Light and Life of Christ; and the Lord abundantly blessed his ministry to many.

Our meetings in Sedbergh were often at Thomas Blaykling's house, whose family was

honest and of good reputation; and at Gervas Benson's house, who had been a justice of peace; at Richard Robinson's at Brigflats, who was an innocent faithful man; and at other places near in those parts.

Being joined to the said people, in derision termed Quakers, and being by the Grace of God, resolved to continue and persevere in their communion, and to wait upon God in his Light, wherewith He had enlightened my understanding in a good measure, I had great satisfaction therein; being sensible that our society and converse with one another, as we had received the love of the Truth, was helpful and encouraging to us, and tended to our edification and comfort: I greatly loved and delighted in the free conversation and fellowship of sober, faithful Friends.

When I was a school-boy, at the free school at Blencoe in Cumberland, I had loved retirement with sober, studious scholars, though but mean and poor in the world, rather than the company of loose, extravagant boys, though of the gentry or richer sort, who were given to much play and gaming; for in that company which I most affected, we were the most profitable one to another in our learning, and communicating the effects of our studies to each other: much more, in a spiritual and higher sense, when we were in

some degree come to know the blessed Truth, in the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Christian society and communications therein of our inward experiences did all redound to our mutual help and edification in the love of the Truth, as it is in Christ the Light and Life, and our great Apostle and minister; who teaches his true followers to profit, in that love and life which flows from Him, the Fountain and Foundation of all our mercies; to whom alone be the praise and glory thereof for evermore!

As to the progress which, by Divine assistance, I came to experience in the work of the Lord Jesus Christ in me, after I came to be settled in my mind and conscience to join in communion with the said people, and to frequent their assemblies as aforesaid; the Lord by his Light and Grace of his Holy Spirit, fully persuaded me that without being converted as well as convinced, and without being regenerated, sanctified, and born again, I could not enter into his kingdom nor be an heir thereof; and that the godly sorrow unto true repentance, and a real amendment of life, must be wrought by his Grace and good Spirit in me; and that without holiness none can see God.

Upon these and such serious Christian considerations, I was persuaded by the Grace of

God, to give up in obedience to follow Christ Jesus; to believe in and obey his Light given me; and to wait therein diligently, to receive power from Him to become a true child of God; for to as many as truly receive Christ the Son of God, He gives power to become sons of God.

I saw it was my place to retire inward to the Light, to the Grace of God, the immortal incorruptible Seed, the ingrafted Word, which is our Divine Principle, and frequently testified of among the said people, according to Holy Scripture: and my mind being turned to this Light, I came plainly to see my inward and outward state; how much fallen into a state of degeneration, and how much depraved, corrupted, and alienated from the Life of Christ and of God. The very vanity of mind and thoughts, wherein I had been wandering and estranged from the Light and Life of Christ, became my great burden and exercise to be delivered from, that I might be truly renewed in the spirit of my mind, and therein joined to the Lord. Being persuaded to wait in the Light, in the way of his judgments, and to bear and submit to his fatherly chastisements and reproofs of instruction—believing, that Sion must be redeemed through judgment, and her converts with righteousness—vain thoughts,

imaginations, and wanderings of the mind, became a suffering and burden to me, and I earnestly sought the Lord for power to suppress them, and that He would give me victory over them all, and stay my mind upon Himself, that I might enjoy inward peace with Him.

In waiting upon God, and sincerely seeking after Him with my mind inwardly retired, and my soul desiring and breathing after his Name and Power, He was graciously pleased often to renew his merciful visitations to my poor soul, and in the midst of judgment and chastisements to remember mercy, that He might be feared; and the sense hereof did soften, break, and tender my heart, and cause me to be the more mindful of the work of the Lord our God, and the more to consider the operation of his Divine Hand, whose dealing with me was in judgment and mercy; his Eternal Word, by judgment, caused fear and trembling in his presence; and by showing mercy, brokenness and true tenderness of heart. And in the lively remembrance thereof, I find still great cause to ascribe the praise and glory to his excellent Name, power, and Divine goodness, manifest through his dear Son, even the Son of his Love, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

SECTION II.

General prejudice against the principles of the New Society—His parents' views—His own progress and experience, and a statement of his principles and sentiments in regard to Christ as our sacrifice—As the Light of the world.—Necessity of repentance—Value of the Holy Scriptures—The New Covenant—Gospel Ministry.

Many of the Presbyterian priests, in those early days, in Westmoreland and other northern parts of England, appeared very envious against us, in the years 1652, 1653, 1654, &c. ; and, in their lectures and sermons, much bestirred themselves to revile and reproach the Quakers and their ministers, terming them deceivers and antichrists, come in the last times; gathering what evil and false reports they could against us, and all to incense their credulous hearers; thereby setting both neighbours and families at variance and discord, like invidious sowers thereof.

I have known some of their hearers, even of my own relations and others, when they have come from their public worship, and from hearing a preachment against Quakers, who have come full frought therewith, to talk and prate against them, oftentimes nonsense : sometimes I have returned them a Christian answer, which

when rejected, I have many times found it my place to be silent, and let them clamour and scoff on; the leaders of the people, even those priests, caused them to err, and with their sour leaven, soured the spirits of many into enmity.

My parents were hurt by them, and the more influenced against me for a time; until the Lord turned their hearts and opened their understandings, to see better than they could by following their blind guides, whose work was to make divisions among relations; yet their trouble and grief came more from their priest's influencing them against us, and fear of my misfortune or losing preferment in the world, than from any prejudice against me or my religious persuasion; for they retained a real affection to me: and in the time of my being about three years absent from them in the ministry and service of the Truth, and in that time suffering several hard imprisonments and otherwise for the same, in Norfolk and Suffolk, were much reconciled; and when I returned to visit them they were loving, and their understandings and hearts were opened toward me and my Friends, who came to visit me at their house.

My mother, some years before her decease, was really convinced of the TRUTH, and became a Friend in her heart. And my father seeing the corruption, pride, and avarice of the priests,

retained a love toward Friends till the end of his days. Likewise my sister Anne, before the death of her mother, became a friend to truth and Friends, and continued an honest, loving, and serviceable woman, until death.

It is observable, when the Priests, could not prevail to stop the progress and spreading of the blessed Truth, and Power of Christ, nor prevent the increase of our Friends by all their reviling sermons and preaching against us, their work was to endeavour to incense the magistrates, justices, and the government, against the People called Quakers; whereupon divers justices and officers were instigated to persecution, and imprisoned many of our Friends in Kendal and Appleby Goals in Westmoreland, for bearing testimony against them. And I was moved in the dread and fear of theLord, to bear public testimony against their wickedness in several of their places of worship in Westmoreland, before I travelled into the south parts of England, yet the Lord was pleased to preserve me then, from any harm or imprisonment.

Some time after I was conversant among our friends, and frequented the meetings to which I belonged in Westmoreland and Yorkshire, chiefly between the years 1652 and 1654, I was much inwardly exercised in waiting upon the Lord in them. We had but little preaching, our

meetings being kept much and often in silence; yet the Lord was pleased sometimes by his Power and Word of Life, both to tender and open my heart and understanding, so that He gave me now and then a few words livingly to utter in some meetings to my friends, and to our mutual comfort, in Him who opened our hearts in great love one to another. Blessed be the Lord our God for ever!

It was out of these, and such our frequently silent meetings, the Lord was pleased to raise up, and bring forth living witnesses, faithful ministers, and true prophets, in early days in Westmoreland, and other northern parts, in the years 1654, 1655, &c. The Lord our God having in these latter days and times, been pleased to visit this island with his Gospel-day and Power, according to his promise unto the Gentiles, and the isles that should wait for his Law; and that his Elect, his Christ, (in whom his soul delighteth) should bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, *Isa.* xlii. We also waiting in true silence upon Him, and eying his inward appearance in spirit, and the work of his Power in us, came truly to feel our strength renewed, in living faith, true love, and holy zeal for his Name; insomuch that the Lord gradually brought us to experience what He said of old by his holy prophet: "Keep silence before Me,

O islands! and let the people renew their strength; let them come near, then let them speak; let us come near together in judgment." *Isa.* xli. 1.

O! thus keeping silence before the Lord, and thus drawing near to Him in a true silent frame of spirit, to hear first what the Lord speaks to us, before we speak to others, whether it be of judgment or mercy, is the way for renewing our strength, and to be his ministers to speak to others only what He first speaks to us: Oh! that the people truly minded this: Oh! that they would seriously consider hereof, then would they not run after, or follow such of their ministers or priests as run and God never sent them; who say: "Thus saith the Lord," when God hath not spoken to them; and "who shall not profit the people at all." *Jer.* xxiii.

The Lord was graciously pleased to lead me through the law, judgment, and condemnation against sin in the flesh, in order to bring me to the more glorious ministration and law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus, the Foundation of the prophets, and to experience the mystery of John's ministry of repentance, the washing of regeneration, the axe being laid to the root of the tree, as well as to the cutting off the superfluous branches, that a thorough work of regeneration might be wrought. These things were

spiritually, and by degrees experienced through the obedience of faith, waiting and persevering in the Grace, Light, and Truth received from Christ, in order to obtain victory over sin and satan; that his work and the body thereof, might be destroyed root and branch.

And whatever Divine openings the Lord was pleased at any time to give me by his Holy Spirit, for my encouragement, by the increase of faith and hope, I saw I must still be mindful of his inward work of grace, sanctification, and holiness, that it might go on and prosper; tho' many weaknesses and temptations attended, his Grace was sufficient for me, and oftentimes gave me strength and victory over the enemy of my soul, and frustrated his evil designs; and when he would have come in like a flood, with manifold temptations and devices, the Spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against him, and repelled him: Glory to our God, and to the Lamb, in whom is our salvation and strength for ever and ever; whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and his dominion from generation to generation!

As our blessed Lord Jesus Christ declared, If any man will do My will, he shall know of the doctrine. It was in the day of his power as the Light thereof did appear, that a willingness was wrought in my heart to do his will,

and to follow Him in self-denial and taking up the daily cross, which every man must do, that will be his disciple: by whose Light and teaching I came livingly to believe, understand, and receive those doctrines and principles essential to a Christian life and salvation, especially these following, viz.

I. God's free love in his dear Son Jesus Christ, and his universal Grace in Him: and that Christ died for all men, who were dead in their sins; that He gave Himself a ransom for all, for a testimony in due time, of his free love to mankind; for it was by the Grace of God that "Christ tasted death for every man:" so that the free Grace and love of God to mankind, are testified and evident both in Christ's dying for all men, and by his being the "Light of the World, which enlightens every man coming into the world." *John* i. 4. 9.

2. The necessity of men's repenting, and truly believing the Gospel, and of being so converted to Christ, as to receive Christ, and to experience a living and steadfast faith in Him, in his Light, Name, and Power, in order to become the children and sons of God, it being by his Power, through faith therein, that men become the sons of God; and not by traditional belief, without spiritually receiving Christ into their hearts, to know his work of

faith and power in them, unto conversion, and a real change of their hearts and minds, by the washing of regeneration, which is sanctification, the one baptism of the Spirit, for the washing us from our sins, and restoring us to newness of life in Christ Jesus. All which every true believer in Christ, our Light and Life, understands, and knows the necessity of, even of those things, which are agreeable to Holy Scripture testimony.

I always had a love to the Bible, and to reading therein, from my childhood, yet did not truly understand, nor experience those doctrines essential to salvation, nor the new Covenant Dispensation, until my mind was turned to the Light of Christ, the Living Eternal Word, the entrance whereof giveth light and understanding to the simple.

Yet I do confess, it was some advantage to me to have frequently read the Holy Scriptures when I was ignorant, and did not understand the great and excellent things or matters therein testified of; for when the Lord had livingly in some measure opened my understanding in the Holy Scripture, by my often reading the same before, having the better remembrance thereof, it was a help and advantage to my secret meditations, when a lively sense and comfort

of the Scriptures was in measure given me by the spirit.

It is through faith which is in Christ, that the Holy Scriptures are said to make the man of God, wise unto salvation, and are profitable to him, for doctrine, reproof, and instruction in righteousness, that he may be perfect and thoroughly furnished to every good word and work. Doubtless Paul esteemed Timothy's knowing the Holy Scriptures from a child, to be some advantage and help to him, but it was principally through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.

These things considered, I would not have Christian parents remiss in educating, and causing their children to read the Holy Scriptures, but to induce them both to learn and frequently to read therein.

I have sometimes observed pretty innocent children in reading in the Bible, affected with the good things they have read, from a secret belief of them, which hath had such impression on their memories and affections, that they have been induced to a more serious consideration thereof, when the Lord has opened their understandings in some measure, by the Light of his Grace.

By what I have here declared in commendation of Holy Scripture, I would not be understood to limit the gifts of the Spirit of God, or

ministry thereof, or any of his divine graces, from the illiterate, the unlearned, or from persons of low and mean education, or calling, as ploughmen, herdsmen, shepherds, fishermen, &c. For God hath given of his Good Spirit, and excellent spiritual gifts even unto such, and hath promised to pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh; and that sons and daughters should prophesy. *Joel* ii. 28. And Moses said: "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that He would put his Spirit upon them." *Numb.* xi. 29.

Now to return to my own experience and spiritual progress; my entrance thereinto, and very beginning in the Spirit, and believing in the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, was really in order to my coming into the New Covenant and Dispensation thereof, Christ being given both for a Light and a Covenant, and to be God's Salvation unto the ends of the earth. This New Covenant, is a covenant of grace, mercy, and peace with God in his dear Son Jesus Christ. It is that reconciliation, that near agreement with God and Christ, which man must come into if ever he enjoys true peace. It is in this Covenant that all the Lord's people know Him, from the least to the greatest, and are all taught of God, having also his law written in their hearts, and put into their minds,

by his Holy Spirit. It is in this covenant that the Lord blots out all their former forsaken transgressions, and remembers their sins and iniquities no more, they continuing in this Everlasting Covenant, and in his goodness : He is a God keeping covenant and mercy for ever, to them that fear Him. Oh ! my cry, my soul's breathing, my inward spiritual travail, my watchings and prayings, have been—O Lord preserve and keep me in thy holy fear, in humility, in the sense of thy Power ; that I may never depart from Thee, nor from thy Covenant; that I may never dishonour thy Truth, or our holy profession. And hitherto the Lord has helped me on my spiritual journey and race towards the prize : I ascribe the glory and praise only to Him, "who giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might He increaseth strength ;" and often in my weak estate, hath manifested strength : salvation and strength come from Him who is the God of our salvation, that his redeemed ones may sing of his judgments and mercies, and ascribe salvation to our God, and to the Lamb that sits with Him upon the throne, in glory and majesty for ever.

It was my belief after my convincement, that all who are truly called into Christ's ministry, must be sanctified, divinely inspired, and gifted for that sacred work and service of our Blessed

Lord Jesus Christ; they must be careful that their "conversations be as becometh the Gospel;" they must live good lives, as well as speak good words; they must be men fearing God, and eschewing evil; hating covetousness, and giving no offence in any thing; that the ministry be not blamed, concerning which the Lord hath laid upon me a godly care, which still remains upon me, both for myself and others; that our ministry be not blamed, and that no offence may be given to cause blame thereupon. What signifies it for any to have a name to live, when they are dead! Or for loose, vain, proud, covetous, unsanctified persons, to pretend to be in holy orders, when they themselves are altogether unholy, polluted, and sinful!

What that kingly prophet David earnestly prayed to God for in Psalm 51, doth truly set forth the state and condition of true Gospel ministers, whose ministry is attended with his Power and Presence, and thereby made effectual for the conversion of sinners unto Him: "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin." "Create in me a clean heart, O God! and renew a right Spirit within me: cast me not away from thy Presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and uphold me with

thy Free Spirit. Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee." These things have I sincerely aimed at, and earnestly desired of the Lord; and in Spirit travailed for, with my soul and whole heart. And the Lord in measure answered me therein, before I travelled abroad in the ministry of the Gospel of Christ, even the Gospel of the Grace of God; which He gave and increased from small beginnings in me, and unto me, blessed be his most excellent Name for ever: For He promised unto his people, saying, "I will give you pastors according to my own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding." *Jer.* iii. 15. They only are true pastors and ministers who are of his giving; and many such He has given and will give in this Gospel day, according as was testified by a preacher both of Christ as come in the flesh, and of the mystery of Christ as come in Spirit: "Even the Mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this Mystery among the Gentiles, which is CHRIST IN YOU, the hope of glory; whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus; whereunto I also labour, striving ac-

cording to his working, which worketh in me mightily." *Col.* i. 26—29.

According to a belief that God would reveal this Mystery of Christ in us, I was made tenderly concerned to wait for the same, that I might witness and feel the Power and coming of Christ in Spirit, both to sanctify my heart, and give me understanding to do his will. And when He called me to bear testimony for his Name and Power, and also for his inward and spiritual work in man, I was engaged to wait for his Power and Spirit to move and work in me; and that I might labour in his service according to his working in me; and not otherwise run, strive, or strain in my own will, wisdom, or strength, as knowing that without Christ, his power and presence, help and counsel, I could, of myself, do nothing, nor any one else. And when my ability was but small, and I in much weakness, fear, and trembling many times, the Lord helped me, and increased strength and ability in my labours beyond expectation; this care still resting upon me even in my early travels, to minister only according to the ability given me of my Heavenly Father, and to keep within compass of my own gift; and when the Spirit of the Lord opened and moved but in a few words, I must not exceed, but sit down in silence when that ceased. Many

times in waiting upon the Lord, and secretly breathing to Him in silence, the Spring of Life would arise, and open counsel afresh to my own and others refreshment and consolation : many times hath my soul been brought low, and the Lord hath helped me, and renewed my strength to persevere in his service ; being sensible the more low I was in myself, and the more in fear toward God, though but weak and simple of myself, the more He would manifest his Power, and bless my endeavours and service. Let Him have the praise of all, who is for ever worthy.

SECTION III.

His travels in Yorkshire—Visits Lincoln, Cambridge, Norwich, and Wymondham.—Ranters.—Visits other places in Norfolk and Suffolk—Returns to Norwich—Imprisoned there—Proclamation asserting liberty of conscience—Further visits in Norfolk and Suffolk.

After many blessed and comfortable seasons, and refreshment from the Presence of our Heavenly Father, which we enjoyed in our meetings before mentioned in the northern parts; and having cleared my conscience in testimony for the Truth, both in word, and Christian conversation toward my parents and relations, being some time with them before I travelled abroad into the south parts of England, a weighty concern came upon me, to leave my father's house and county of Westmoreland, and to travel abroad southward, which I acquainting some Friends with, my dear friend Edward Edwards, who then was a young man and lived at Gervase Benson's, near Coatley Cragg, above Sedbergh, though he was not then called into the ministry, gave up to travel with me, and to keep me company to York, it being the latter end of the summer, in the year 1654. Both of

as were given up to travel on foot, and went together directly to York, where we stayed two or three nights, and were at Friend's meeting there on the First-day, which was but small; and I had a few words given me livingly to declare among them.

Thence we travelled farther southward in Yorkshire, and met with our beloved friend and brother in Christ, George Fox, at one Captain Bradford's, where we were at a meeting with him; and afterward we travelled into East Holderness, to Joseph Storrs, where again we met with George Fox and divers other Friends, and were comforted together, and travelled a little while in that country to some meetings where he was, who then had the public service wholly upon him there; for the strengthening and settling Friends in the Light and in the Truth.

I had some testimony laid upon me to bear at two steeple-houses, before I left that county, but met with no hard usage, except haling out; the Lord supporting me in faith and hope of a service He had for me farther south. My honest, dear friend, Edward Edwards and I, parted in Holderness; and Thomas Ralison who travelled with George Fox, came with me to Hull, whence we went that night over the river Humber into Lincolnshire: we had a rude,

abusive, drunken company in the boat, who, though they threatened, and otherwise abused us, the Lord preserved us from being harmed by them.

George Fox and Alexander Parker overtook us (being on foot) in our way toward Lincoln; and we got to a place that night where was a meeting next day, being the first day; and a burthen came upon me, to go and bear testimony for the Truth at two steeple-houses, one in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. I had no harm nor violence at either, except pulling or pushing out; but Thomas Ralison being at that in the afternoon, was abused and beaten, and followed into the field by a parcel of young fellows; and I was sorry that he was so evilly treated. Next day he and I parted, and I took leave of George Fox and friends with him, and travelled on toward Lincoln, taking a meeting by the way; where the Lord opened my mouth in a living testimony. After this I went to Lincoln that night, being but a few miles; and there met with John Whitehead, who had been exercised in a public service in that city, and had met with some acceptance. I staid but one night in Lincoln, being pressed in Spirit to travel forward toward Cambridge and Norwich, though left to travel alone and still on foot. I went to Cambridge from Lincoln

in less than three days, the days being then short, though my feet were galled and blistered even before I came out of Yorkshire; yet they amended before I got to Norwich, and I was preserved in health all along; which I thankfully esteemed as a great mercy from God, being then not eighteen years of age.

At Cambridge I was received kindly by Alderman Blakeling and his wife, and by the few Friends there. James Parnel met me before I went thence, and we were comforted together, and among those Friends when we met. After two or three days stay, I was still pressed in spirit for Norwich. From Cambridge Thomas Lightfoot travelled with me; and we got to about three miles from Thetford in Norfolk the first night, being showery weather; but it was something difficult to get lodging for our money at a little village where we staid, they were so shy of us; yet being at a house where they sold beer, we prevailed with them to entertain us that night; but the room wherein we lodged was cold and mean, and the window so shattered, that the snow came in upon us. The next day we travelled to Wymondham, where one Robert Constable and his wife kindly received us; being convinced a little time before, by our dear friend Richard Hubberthorn, then prisoner in Norwich Castle, for bearing public testimony

to the Truth at the Steeple-house at Wymondham, where those called Independent's met.

We went to Norwich next day, and I visited Richard Hubberthorn in prison, where we gladly embraced each other in dear and tender love, and were comforted together in the Lord; there being then a few Friends in that city convinced by his testimony and suffering. The most serviceable Friend then in that city, was Thomas Symonds, a master-weaver, who received travelling Friends: he was a loving honest man, and came to receive a gift in the ministry, and was faithful unto death. He lived and died in the faith, and was partaker of the promises which are "yea and amen in Christ Jesus." He was exemplary in Truth, and serviceable both in the city of Norwich and county of Norfolk.

Though I expected to suffer imprisonment in that city; yet the Lord so ordered I had liberty some weeks to have divers meetings at Thomas Symond's house and at Wymondham, at one Robert Harvey's, a glover, who was an honest, innocent man, that received the Truth in the love of it. To a meeting at his house, came captain John Lawrence, &c. who being then tenderly affected with Truth, was desirous I should have a meeting at his house at Wramplingham, which I was glad of.

To that meeting came three priests, viz. Jonathan Clapham, priest of the town, and other two on purpose to oppose. They staid in the parlour until the meeting was settled, and peeped out to see me; and because of my youth, I was contemptible in their eyes, to discourse with; and I understood they slighted me the more because thereof. However Jonathan Clapham, as one ambitious and more regarding worldly honour, than seeking that honour which is from above, undertook to oppose and document me, about our not respecting persons by bowing, &c. pleading what he could for it; and the Lord gave me suitable and scriptural replies, which in the spirit of meekness I returned upon him and his party, and laid open some of their unscriptural and unwarrantable practices; and feeling the Lord's Power and counsel with me, I had dominion given me to vindicate the Truth, to the confounding of the opposers. After some short time, the said Jonathan Clapham, and another priest with him, (one Purt) withdrew, but the third priest staid until the meeting was over; for after the contest with the other two priests was ended, I had a very good and blessed opportunity to declare the Truth, and open divers matters of weight, as the Lord was pleased to open to me, and enlarge my Spirit to demonstrate; insomuch that at the

same meeting, most of John Lawrence's family, with divers others, were convinced and persuaded of the way of Truth. And the Lord gave me great comfort and encouragement by his Divine assistance in his work and service that day; and Friends then present, were greatly satisfied therein. And those same priest's contempt of me his poor servant, and weak instrument, turned to the contempt and disgrace of themselves; so that I had then and often, cause to ascribe the "Glory and praise to the Lord our God," and to declare in praise to Him: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies; that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." *Psal.* viii. 2.

The said John Lawrence received the Truth, and the Lord's Messengers in great love and tenderness; and gave up freely in obedience thereunto. When he knew a beginning in the Spirit, he turned not back; but did persevere, and bore a faithful testimony in suffering for the Truth, both in his person and goods. His and his family's turning to Truth and Friends, was a means to induce and draw many after them, to Christ his Light and free ministry, that they might know Him to be their Minister, their High Priest, their Shepherd, and the Bishop of their Souls.

Near that time, in the ninth and tenth months, 1654, I had divers meetings in and near Wymondham, and also in Norwich; and the Lord was with me, and helped me to publish his Name and Truth; to preach the everlasting Gospel, and to turn many from darkness to the Light, and from the power of sin and Satan, unto God and his Power; that people might not continue in empty forms and shadows, but come to the Life and Substance of true religion, and to the power of godliness, and to know Christ to be their Teacher and Leader, whose voice his sheep hear; and they will not follow the voice of a stranger.

And many in those parts were convinced of the truth of these things, and turned to the Light of Christ in them. Let the work of the Lord praise Him which began in those days, and since has prospered in that country, both in the offspring of many who then at first received the love of the Truth, and in many others, whom the Lord hath blessed in their obedience, and willingness to serve Him; being come unto the dawning of the day of Christ's Power, wherein his people are a willing people. *Ps.* cx. 3.

The first opposition I met with in the city of Norwich, was at a meeting at the said Thomas Symond's house, by one Scarfe, an

Antinomian preacher, who pleaded for sin to continue term of life, even in the best of saints, from Paul's warfare, &c. *Rom.* vii. And yet though they still continue sinners in themselves, they are not under the Law, but under Grace, and reckoned righteous in Christ. Much such sin-pleasing doctrine we met with from professors in those days, whom in the Name of the Lord we withstood, as I did the said Antinomian; and by the Lord's help, stood over Him and his perverse gainsayings, to his confusion; for I saw those Antinomians very dark and corrupt in doctrine, contrary to Christ's work, which is to destroy sin, and to save his people from sin and transgression.

At that meeting, there were some of those persons deemed Ranters,* allowing corrupt liberty. One of the chief of them seemed to own what I said against the Antinomian; I had then given me a sense that he was of a corrupt spirit, and told him, I denied his spirit also, as I did the opposers, for I felt a zeal from the Lord against them both. And the Lord's Power over all, in whose service He did strengthen and encourage me from one meeting to another, insomuch that I was sure the Lord stood by me, and strengthened my spirit in his

* An unsettled class of people: many of them, as here stated, of corrupt principles; and others wild in their ideas.

work and service; and the more I travelled and laboured therein, the more my strength in Him increased; for which my soul did often praise his glorious Name, and sing praises to Him, even in solitary places.

A little time after I had another meeting at the said Thomas Symond's house, on a first-day of the week; and there came a company of those persons who were gotten into the spirit of Ranterism; and the same person who seemed to take my part before against the Antinomian opposer, was one of the company. In that same meeting, the Power and dread of the Lord God, fell so weightily upon me to bear testimony against sin and wickedness, root and branch—against the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life—the love of the world, &c. that the powerful Word of the Lord pierced through the meeting, and so wonderfully struck down the spirits of those Ranters, and other loose spirits, that they came to me that evening like men greatly wounded, and struck down in their spirits, from their high floating notions of Ranterism; insomuch that they questioned their salvation, which before they thought themselves secure of, as if their mountain could never be removed; yet then they were under doubts and fears, and such like questioning, as: "Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?"

In compassion to their poor souls, I earnestly exhorted them to bear the judgment of the Lord and his indignation, because they had greatly sinned against Him; that they might find mercy from Him, through true humiliation and repentance; with such necessary counsel and warning, as the Lord by his Light then showed me was most suitable to their conditions; for I never was acquainted with that sort of people before those in Norwich; whereupon the most of them were convinced of the Truth, and divers of them came to be reformed in their lives and conversation; though some turned back into their corrupt, carnal liberty, through want of watchfulness, and not keeping in the fear of God.

We have seen in our day, that where the deadly wound in the beast, or beastly nature, hath been healed, in those who have not gone forward through mortification, nor patiently waited to see judgment brought forth into victory, they have miscarried, and turned from the Grace of God into lasciviousness, or to embrace the world, and thereby to sell the Truth, and themselves too, even their poor souls, for their own iniquities: "Behold for your iniquities have you sold yourselves." *Isa.* l. 1.

Some time after the aforementioned meeting

at John Lawrence's, I went to visit him and his family, and relations that were with them; his wife and her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Bedwell, and others of the family being convinced, and truly loving to Friends, as were their children likewise; being also glad of the good service I had at their house, where the three priests were so greatly disappointed of their designed conquest, and so much confounded. Elizabeth Bedwell told me, that the priest's wife of the town and she having had discourse before the said meeting, and expecting some dispute to be there between the priests and the Quaker, the priest's wife asked her, saying, Mrs. Bedwell, which side will you be for? Elizabeth pleasantly answered her, I'll be for the stronges side. After the meeting was over, the priest's wife told Elizabeth, Now Mrs. Bedwell, I know you'll be of the Quaker's side, for you said you would be for the strongest.

The said Elizabeth Bedwell continued a faith ful, innocent, loving Friend in the Truth, and a plain, lowly example of humility until death; and her husband a loving man, and friend to Truth and Friends; especially in his latter years.

It is worthy to be remembered, that both John Lawrence's mother, and his wife's also, who were very ancient women, came to be con-

vinced, and received the Truth in those times, and continued Friends to the last.

Also Joseph Lawrence, who was brother to John Lawrence, and his wife, received the Truth and Friends in true love and became very serviceable. Joseph suffered considerably by imprisonments. His wife lived not many years after she received the Truth; but in her day was a very virtuous, sober, ingenuous, and loving Friend; and by her sober life and good example, left a sweet savour behind her.

Our ancient and faithful friend, William Barber, of Gissing, in the same county of Norfolk, and his wife also, did early receive the Truth and Friends in great love and tenderness, in 1654. I first met him, as I remember, at Diss in Norfolk, and declared the Truth to him and some others present, and opened something of the mystery of Christ, and of the ministry and work of his Spirit within; and also of the enemy's contrary work in man, as the Lord was pleased to open and enable me. William was very tenderly affected, and broken into tears; and his Spirit bowed and humbled, though he had been a great man and captain in the army: truth was near in him, and I felt him near it; and my heart was open and tender toward him, in the Love of Christ.

It was some time longer before I saw his wife;

she was an honest, sober woman, received the Truth and Friends in great love and tenderness; and continued a faithful, innocent, and loving Friend until her dying day. I observed the Lord endued her with much patience, considering the great and long suffering her husband endured by imprisonment in Norwich castle, for the space of twenty years, or above ; chiefly for non-payment of tithes to an old priest of the parish, who appeared implacably malicious in his prosecution, or rather persecution and revenge. The said William Barber bore a faithful testimony through patience and long suffering ; I know of none who suffered like him in those parts, though many Friends thereabouts have suffered deeply on the same account ; and the Lord supported them therein.

After I had laboured and travelled some weeks in that county, in the work of the Lord in the winter, 1654, a weighty concern came upon me to travel into the county of Suffolk. As we went, Robert Constable, the Friend who went with me, procured an evening meeting at a town called Bottesdale, where the people were pretty civil and quiet. The day after, we went to Mendlesham, to Robert Duncan's, of whom I had a good account before, and of his being desirous of some Friends to visit them in those parts ; for a meeting of an honest minded peo-

ple had been some time kept at his house, dissenting from the parish priests and their worship; and yet they had several preachers, or such as esteemed themselves spiritually gifted, in some degree, to preach and pray among them.

When I came to his house, he kindly received me; next day being the First-day of the week, was their meeting at his house, to which I went and sat in silence for some space, waiting upon the Lord in his holy fear, to see and feel what he would please, by his power, to open unto me to declare to the people there met; being in expectation to hear what should be delivered unto them. Some of their teachers seemed a little uneasy with our being silent so long as we then were; whereupon Robert Duncan spake a few words to this purpose: that peradventure they had been too much in words, or depending on men's teaching; and therefore God now might see it meet to bring them into silence, that they might come more to depend upon Him for teaching.

Some of their preachers were for putting forward one or other of them to prayer; I let them alone, and patiently bore them in their voluntary devotion. After a little respite, the Lord opened and made way for me to preach the Truth unto them, to turn their minds to the

True Light, that they might know the Immortal Seed, and birth which is from above, unto which God's Everlasting Love is; and that seed and birth which He hates, to be subdued, crucified, and slain. It was to the inward work of his Spirit, and knowledge of Christ in Spirit, and that they might know God's teaching by his Spirit, that I truly desired they might all come.

I was among them in much humility, meekness, and poverty of spirit, wherein the Lord was with me, and by his invisible Power helped me, for his own Name's sake, yea, and his seed's sake; which I felt among that people; for the Lord had a tender seed and people among them; towards whom my soul was truly affected, in the love and bowels of Christ Jesus my Lord and Leader, who went before me in his Gospel work and service: to Him be the glory thereof for ever!

The said meeting was kept and ended in much sobriety and seriousness; and no opposition made therein to what the Lord gave me to declare among them; the people being for the most part well inclined, and convinced of the Truth then testified unto. And the meeting remained, and was held in that place, they being so well satisfied with the Truth and Dispensation of the Spirit, as professed and owned among the

people called Quakers, that the Friends thereof were content to wait upon the Lord together in silence, to know and receive Life, Power, and Teaching also from Him. And the Lord for many years prospered them, although when that meeting was reduced to know a state of silence, some of their former preachers left it for a time, yet afterward returned; especially one that was most noted, namely Edward Plumpstead, senior, who not only came to be a loving Friend in our Society, as his wife and family were, but also a preacher of the Truth among Friends, some years before he died.

I was again concerned in spirit to return to Norwich, and that neighbourhood, where I had some effectual service for the blessed Truth, among the Friends convinced thereof, and other well inclined people; also to visit my beloved friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, as often as I could, he being still detained prisoner in Norwich castle, where he had but a poor hole to lodge in, upon the end of a cross wall; which being a little old stone arched hole or room, it broke, and fell down not many years after. It was the Lord's mercy it fell not while he was in it.

A few days after, near the end of the tenth month, 1654, there was a lecture at that called Peter's Church in Norwich, and I believed the Lord required me to go thither, to bear such

testimony as He would please to give me, being endued with a holy zeal against iniquity, and the pride and covetousness of the high priests in those days; as well as with compassion to the ignorance and blindness of the people misled by them.

When the priest had ended his sermon, I was suffered to say but a few words against iniquity, &c. when some of the priest's hearers came violently upon me to hale me out, some pulling by one arm, and some by the other, contrary ways; some striving to hale me out at the north door, and some out at the south porch, by which violence I then got some hurt, and a pain in one side of my breast, being overstrained by their pulling and haling me; but it pleased the Lord in a few days to remove the hurt and pain I got, by that hard usage. From the steeple-house I was haled to their guild-hall, before Thomas Toft, mayor, who after examination about water baptism, and some other things, committed me to the city gaol.

The mayor seemed to seek occasion against me because he had none, by his questioning me about water baptism, asking me, if the baptism of John was from heaven, or of men? To which I answered him, if they who now plead for water baptism, could prove, or make it appear they have commission from heaven to

baptize, as John had, I would own it. But I supposed he did not intend so, but was for sprinkling infants. However, though he could get no advantage against me, he would send me to prison.

In the said prison I and some others were but hardly treated by the keeper, one Hunt, who demanded for one bed for three of us, four-pence a night of each; we thought it was hard measure to demand twelve-pence a night of prisoners for one mean bed, for three men to be crowded together in, and that in a cold room, where another prisoner lodged in a bed to himself; so that we not finding freedom to gratify the gaoler in his oppression and covetousness, and afraid to bring any charge upon any of our Friends, to procure us better accommodation in prison, thought ourselves necessitated to lodge upon the bare boards of the floor in our wearing clothes, and little covering besides; and thus we lodged for eight weeks together in the cold winter, whereby though we endured much cold, yet were through the Lord's mercy generally preserved in health. Such kind of hardship I might think the greater, having been tenderly brought up by my parents, and being only about eighteen years old, when thus imprisoned in 1654. Whilst we were prisoners, our dear friend, Thomas Symonds afore-

said, was sent to prison to us, only for asking a priest a question in the steeple-house after sermon.

At the next sessions for the city, James Lancaster and I were had into court, before one Charles George Cock, then judge; and the great offence he took against us, was our not putting off our hats in court, which we could not for conscience sake submit to, nor do such homage to mortal man. This he seemed to resent, as a contempt to the court and authority, pleading for respect to superiors, as the duty of servants to masters. I signified that servants ought to perform their duties, and to serve their own masters, not with eye service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart; whereas putting off the hat, and bowing to men, and thereby respecting their persons, is but an eye service, and men-pleasing, and no real service or duty to superiors or government; neither do we know any law broken by our wearing our hats, any more than by wearing the rest of our garments; nor do we thereby intend any contempt against authority. After a few words of this import, I bore the judges threatening and insulting patiently, and stood still in silence.

John Bolton of London, being behind me in court, suddenly plucked off my hat, with the other Friend's, supposing thereby to pacify the

judge, and prevent our farther suffering; he with another friend or two being come from London to visit us: howbeit we were remanded back to prison, our cold place of confinement. Suddenly after, our Friend John Bolton, was sorely troubled in his conscience for plucking off our hats; and could not rest quiet in himself, until he returned into court again, and made open confession against himself, condemning what he had done in taking off our hats. Upon which, as it was related to me, the judge signified, he thought what John had done, would not hold with the Quakers' principle. John had not been long a professed Quaker; yet he continued zealous for TRUTH unto his end.

It may be observed, hat he judge of he said court of sessions in Norwich, was tenderly cautioned beforehand by letter from us, who were prisoners, against that very course which he took against us in session. However I was discharged by the judge; yet for some time after, detained in prison by Hunt the gaoler, pretending he had laid actions upon us for what he claimed as a debt owing for lodging; upon which we were continued in prison, under the same hardships in the cold winter, in all eight weeks or above, until the said gaoler died. And then we were actually freed out of prison,

so that the Lord delivered us by removing our unmerciful oppressor.

About this time a proclamation was issued by the commonwealth in which many just principles were asserted in regard to liberty of conscience.

It proclaimed however no new favour to the poor Quakers, who, in company with the Ranters whose principles and practices they always disavowed, were deemed unworthy of additional liberty, as acting in a manner opposed to the freedom and liberty of others. This charge no doubt had reference to the very active spirit which Friends displayed in the propagation of what they deemed gospel Truth, in which cause they were frequently led to make public declarations in streets, market places, and fairs, and also at the usual places of worship when the regular services were gone through.

Soon after George Whitehead's commitment to Norwich prison an answer to the proclamation was issued, signed by him and two of his fellow prisoners, from which the following extracts are made, and with which we resume the abstract of his own account.

The proclamation was against such as openly and avowedly, by rude and unchristian practices,

disturb both public and private Christian meetings in their religious exercises in the worship of God, whereby the liberty of the gospel, the profession of religion, and the Name of God is much dishonoured and abused. And many informations being given forth of such practices, by those under the names of Quakers and Ranters, and such practices are disliked in all, and proclaimed against, which be contrary to the just liberty and freedom which the people of this common-wealth is to be protected in, &c.

Ans. The Power which is received, immediately from God, brings into the true liberty and freedom as pertaining to conscience; and the pure law of God which came from the same Power, takes hold upon that which oppresseth the good seed, and conscience also.

And though Liberty of Conscience, and Liberty of Godliness, have been long pretended and promised, yet the same is not yet performed, nor fulfilled unto those who have been free to lay down their lives, for this Liberty of Conscience so promised and professed. Now when the Lord hath enlightened us by his True Light, and brought us to walk with a pure conscience toward God and man, we find more tyranny, cruelty, and plotting mischief against us, than ever those accounted enemies of the

Commonwealth invented to take away our lives; though no man can lay any evil to our charge done or acted, or law broken by us.

But for declaring the Truth freely, as it is made manifest in us from the Lord, against all deceit and unrighteousness of men, we are shut up and kept close in holes and prisons, among thieves and murderers. This is the reward and liberty we receive from the world, for declaring unto them the eternal Truth of God who hath called us, whom we cannot deny for the world's advantage. *Mat.* v. 11. 12.

For witnessing forth in life and power that which protection is promised to, many now suffer in England, and have not their just liberty in the exercise of godliness, though not found guilty of any of those unchristian practices proclaimed against.

The people called Quakers, do not impose upon the consciences of their brethren, or any others, any thing which may embondage their just liberty or freedom in the things of God, but do desire their liberty, that all bondages and ties may be taken off the consciences of all people in matters of the worship of God; and for the purchasing of this liberty, do we suffer bonds and imprisonments, beatings, stonings, stocking, and other cruel usage, from

those who profess themselves Christians, magistrates, and rulers in this Commonwealth.

And as touching the many informations said to be given forth of such practices by those under the names of Quakers and Ranters; (i. e. of rude and unchristian practices which are disliked;)

We answer—We do utterly deny the principles and practices of Ranters; who, from the Light of Christ, which is pure in the conscience, are turned into the liberty of the flesh, and into all uncleanness, and to practise those things to which the plagues of God are due, and upon which the vials of the wrath of God are to be poured out.

How contrary to the liberty and protection, universally promised and proclaimed, our unjust imprisonment in the castle and city of Norwich is, may plainly appear to all persons of understanding, we being by the Eternal Spirit of the Living God called from our earthly habitations, freely to declare and make manifest the Eternal Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, as made manifest in us by the Eternal Spirit, coveting no man's silver nor gold; but freely declaring what we have freely received from God, in love to the souls of all people, that they might also be partakers with us of the powerful Truth of

God; that their souls might live in it and know the pure God, whom all the world in their first state are ignorant of, and enemies to.

Besides our hard usage, and the severity of our confinement, to add affliction to our bonds, one Sampson Townsend, by trade a weaver, who had taken upon him the habit and place of a priest in Austin's parish in Norwich, to make himself famous, published a book or pamphlet against us, to defame us, after we were committed to prison, as being in Norwich gaol for errors and miscarriages, as deniers of the Word of God, and the Scriptures, &c. but his envy and falsehood were publicly detected. Nevertheless after Townsend removed to Repham, I having a meeting in that town, he came to oppose me, but made little work of it; for he was manifestly confounded, not acknowledging the Word to be before the Scriptures, but asserting them to be the *only* Word of God; which was his old objection against us when in Norwich prison, for our testimony to Christ his being the Word, which was in the beginning, &c. At that meeting I told him, the word of the Lord came unto the prophet, saying, &c. "and these are the words of Jeremiah to whom the word of the Lord came," *Jer.* i. 1.

So that the Holy Scriptures or writings, are or contain the sayings or words of the Eternal Word, that is, of God and Christ, as given and revealed unto his servants, prophets, and ministers : holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, *2 Pet.* i. 21. What John was commanded to write, were the true sayings of God, *Rev.* xix. 9. But of Christ he saith, his Name is called "the Word of God," *verse* 13. And I think it is no slighting, much less contempt of the Holy Scriptures, to own them either as the words or true sayings of God, without giving them the same Name or Title, which more properly belongs to Christ or God.

After our discourse at the said meeting at Repham, as I was riding out of the town, the word of the Lord came upon me, to warn the people in the street to repentance, &c. who (for no other cause) evilly intreated me, by stoning me in a furious manner ; insomuch that I could scarcely get my horse to stand, or abide in the place where I declared the Truth to them, until they became more calm and quiet ; so that I cleared my conscience to the people ; for the Lord stood by me, and so preserved and defended me by his Power and merciful Providence, that I got scarce any harm

by all their stoning me; but thereby they showed what fruit their minister, my opposer, had brought forth by his busy, envious opposition against us.

And now to return to the course of my intended narrative; when James Lancaster and myself were actually freed out of Norwich prison, which was, as I remember, in the first month, called March, 1654–5, the oppressing gaoler being removed by death, and his wife more tender than he was. I really believed the special hand of the Lord was in our deliverance; and I was very thankful to Him that we were so well freed out of that prison, but we left C. Atkinson still there. In a short time after I was released, I went to see two prisoners, who remained; whereupon I was apprehended, and had before Thomas Toft, mayor, and again committed to the said prison; and detained for about three weeks, without any proof or colour of transgression, or law against me, but only the arbitrary will and prejudice of the said mayor.

However the Lord did not suffer him to detain me long, having other and further work and service for me to do, for his Name and Truth's sake.

The reason of the said C. Atkinson's remaining in prison after the rest, was partly an action or an attachment of privilege, laid upon

him by an attorney, for speaking some rash or hard words to him, which he supposed were actionable; also the priest who then used to preach to the prisoners, took occasion to complain against him, for some words spoken, whereby the priest was affronted. However, poor man, the said C. A. was not altogether so prudent, meek, or gentle in his conduct as he ought to have been; and that was not all, but worse befell him after he was left alone in prison; for though he got more liberty, and better accommodation than we had in prison when together, yet he falling into too much familiarity and conversation with such as were somewhat inclining to a spirit of Ranterism, he grew loose and waxed wanton against Christ, his Light and Truth; insomuch that at a certain time having a little liberty granted him out of prison, Richard Clayton and I met him at a Friend's house in the country, and perceiving him got into too much lightness and liberty, we met with him alone, and seriously admonished and cautioned him, which he could scarce bear, without appearing offended and in passion; thereupon I was jealous what might befall him, insomuch that some stop came upon me secretly, that I had scarce freedom afterward to visit him in prison. He had been over much affected by some weak, indiscreet persons, and set up

above his place, to his hurt; and some young men have been hurt thereby.

After some time his iniquity became obvious, of which my dear brother Richard Hubberthorn gave me notice. Richard and Thomas Symonds went to see him, and he told them there was no redemption for him: thus he was tempted to despair, by the enemy that had prevailed over him, yet he gave out a severe testimony in condemnation against himself. When I heard of his foul miscarriage, it brought deep sorrow upon me, even unto solitary mourning and tears for Truth's sake, and our poor innocent Friends', who had lately received the Truth; being sensible that both would greatly suffer, and be reproached thereby; however the Lord relieved me after a little while, and laid it the more upon me to labour and travel about in those parts, to strengthen the weak, to help and comfort the feeble, to vindicate the blessed Truth and Way thereof, and to exalt and set the same over the head of all deceit and wickedness and backsliders, and such as turn into the pollutions of the world; well knowing and reminding Friends and others, that the Truth is the same, and never changes, and ought not to be blamed; but such who turn their backs on it, are condemnable; and judgment follows them. And it was the Lord that

stood by me in that service, and by his power helped and strengthened me, to strengthen and help many; so that the scandal took the less effect to do hurt or mischief in those parts: glory and dominion to our God and the Lamb, for ever and ever!

After my release out of prison the second time, I travelled to divers parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. My dear friend and brother Richard Clayton, was with me at some meetings in Norfolk; and there was an honest minded people enquiring after the Lord, and his living Truth, whose hearts He had prepared to receive it. And I well remember in what manner the Lord opened my heart, and enlarged me in Gospel testimony toward those people; it was to the universal love and Grace of God, the Light of Christ in every man, to turn their minds thereunto, therein to wait to know God's teachings, and to come into the New Covenant Dispensation, wherein all the Lord's people are taught of Him, and know Him, even from the least unto the greatest, and witness his law written in their hearts, and his Spirit in their inward parts, according to his blessed promises, and this his New and Everlasting Covenant, as prophesied of by the holy evangelical prophets.

In this New Covenant, not only the house

of Israel and Judah may be partakers of Christ, but all truly believing gentiles also, to whom Christ is given for a light and for a covenant, and to be God's salvation to the ends of the earth; for God is not only the God of the Jews, but of the gentiles also; and they are the true Jews and Israel, who are spiritually such; Jews inward, by the spiritual circumcision of the heart unto the Lord by his Holy Spirit.

And in order to come under this New Covenant Dispensation and ministry, and therein to know and experience Christ to be their Minister, their Teacher, their High Priest, and Prophet, the people before mentioned were persuaded to cease from man, and from all their ministers and priests, made by the will of man; who preached for filthy lucre and gain, making a trade of the Holy Scriptures; adding their own divinations, meanings, and notions thereunto; having no commission given them to preach, and making a trade of the words and testimonies of the holy prophets, Christ Jesus, or his apostles; but walking contrary to their steps and practices, in pride and covetousness.

The Lord often laid a pressure upon me and others of his servants, to testify against the pride and covetousness of the priests, and their preaching for hire, for tithes, and forced maintenance, contrary to Christ's command, and

his ministers' example; for which cause they were the more envious against us; and in their pulpits exclaimed, and made a great noise to incense the people and magistrates against the Quakers, so called, even under severe persecution and imprisonments; and the greater necessity was laid upon me, and others of the Lord's servants, to testify against those envious priests, sometimes even in their public places, improperly called churches, to undeceive the people, that they might not still be led captive.

It is still a matter to me very memorable, that by preaching livingly the Light, the New Covenant, the Word nigh to people in their hearts, yea, the Gospel of the free Grace and love of God in Christ to mankind; many were really and effectually convinced and persuaded of the blessed ever living Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, &c. where the Lord led me early to travel, and helped and prospered me in his service; blessed and praised be his Name for ever!

When I was at Mendlesham meeting, at Robert Duncan's, A. D. 1655, George Fox the younger, a Suffolk man, was effectually convinced, and received the Truth, being then lately come out of the parliament's army in Scotland.

One remarkable passage, and the conse-

quences thereof, I may not omit: the aforesaid John Lawrence *(see page 54)* had been a member of an Independent congregation, and because he left them and received us and our friends, their pastor, one Timothy Armitage, and the elders called him in question, and were minded to excommunicate him.

The same year 1655, he was summoned to their meeting in Norwich, at the parish church called George's of Tombland; and I went with him thither, and Edmund Bedwell, who had not then left off his sword, or falchion; which I blamed him for, thinking they would take occasion against him and us for it, as some of them did afterward. There was a great concourse of people, men and women met together, with their pastor and elders, and they repeated their charge against John Lawrence, to this purpose, viz. His forsaking their church or communion; his entertaining strangers, or persons dangerous, or holding dangerous doctrines, &c. But I could not perceive any matter of fact they could prove against him of any error, or dangerous consequence; what they insinuated against him, appeared to be without proof, or colour thereof.

Then he was to give his reasons why he left them or their church, whereof he had been a member; to which he answered according to

the apostle Paul's doctrine, *2 Tim.* iii. to turn away from such as have a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof; namely, such as are proud, heady, high-minded, and covetous, though they may have a form or profession of godliness, yet denying the power thereof, from such we are to turn away, &c. And the said John Lawrence applying this to them who then went about to excommunicate him, gave the same for his reason why he turned away from them; though they had a form or profession of godliness, yet they denied the power thereof; and therefore he might justly turn away from them, &c.

After which, in the fear and dread of the Lord, I stood up to declare a few words among them, but they quickly pulled me down, and by force held me down in the pew where we were; and some of their proud women that were near us, expressed their rage and envy against me in particular; and some of their church forcibly haled and pushed me out of the steeple-house, and exposed me to a rude multitude, who stood ready to lay violent hands on me; and they pushed and haled me away through the streets and market-place of the city, sometimes throwing me down upon the stones, whereby I was bruised; though the hurt I got thereby, the Lord was pleased to remove

in a short time. They followed and encompassed me, pushing me along, roaring and shouting, until I came near to the city gate, called Giles's gate, next to a little pasture ground; at the upper end whereof I saw a great house, where the Lady Hubbard dwelt; upon the sight whereof I was in a great strait, and at a stand in my mind, the tumult being great about me, whether I should then go out of the city in order to go toward Wramplingham, to John Lawrence's, or whether I should turn up toward the said great house; desiring the Lord to direct me at that instant. Hereupon I considered that if I should then turn out of the city into the high way, toward Wramplingham, I might be in danger to lose my life by that violent, tumultuous company that were then about me; and it would be the less regarded, or taken notice of; and therefore if I must lose my life, it would be better to die where my testimony was to be borne within the city of Norwich, and where my persecution was begun, rather than by the tumult without the city, or abroad in the field; for I was given up to suffer what violence the Lord might permit them to do unto me.

On which consideration I immediately turned up to Lady Hubbard's, the tumultuous, raging company continuing still about me; by whose

shouting the lady's chaplain, Dr. Collins, as he was afterwards termed, and most of the family, came out to see and hear what was the matter of such a great noise, and why such a mob came before the house; and they beheld me that I was the person beset and persecuted.

The chaplain understanding what I was, undertook to discourse with me, first by way of interrogation, concerning the same Spirit which the apostles of Christ had; if I had the same Spirit? I owned that in measure I partook of the same Spirit, though I would not equalize my degree of attainment to theirs. Then if I had that Spirit, the chaplain would have me demonstrate or prove it, by some sign or miracle, as the apostles did. Or, if I could speak with tongues by a gift of the Spirit, and not by acquirement, as by human learning. I answered him, according to the apostle Paul's words in that case, 1 *Cor.* xii. speaking of the diversities of gifts, given by one and the same Spirit, I told him, all who had the Spirit of Christ, had not all those gifts, as that of tongues and miracles, for "to one is given the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to another faith; to another working of miracles; to another prophesy; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another interpretation of tongues: yet all by the same Spirit," the Spirit and Power of Christ.

It is evident that these gifts of tongues and miracles, &c. were not common to all who had the Spirit of Christ, in the primitive Church, but peculiar to some, as these questions import, viz. "Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues?" &c. 1 *Cor.* xii. 29, 30. implying that all the ministers and members of the Church were not so gifted in all these respects, though they all had one and the same Spirit, from whence these gifts came. And I may have the word of wisdom, knowledge, and faith, by the same Spirit, and yet not the gift of tongues and miracles. It no ways follows that none have the Spirit, but they who have those gifts. I then clearly saw the chaplain's way of reasoning in this case would not hold.

When he perceived how tumultuous and rude the company about had been against me, he questioned why I did not quiet or quell them, or supposed I might, if I had the same Spirit or Power, the apostles had. I answered him, that the apostle Paul himself desired the Church of the Thessalonians to pray for him, that the Lord would deliver him out of the hands of unreasonable men, for all have not faith. He was therefore sometimes in the hands of unreasonable men, when in tumults; and the Lord delivered him

out of their hands. While we discoursed, my persecutors stood silent, as in a ring, and heard us, on the subjects before related; our discourse held but a little while, I suppose about half an hour.

In the mean time came a soldier or trooper, with his sword by his side, and perceiving me to be the person persecuted and watched by that rude company, as I withdrew, he came to me, and said, he would go along with me, and guard me to my quarters, or lodgings; and laying his hand upon his sword, commanded the mob to stand off, to make way. So I was quietly rescued, and he went along with me to my dear friend, Thomas Symond's house in the city.

I saw it was of the Lord that I was put in mind to draw toward that house, the Lady Hubbard's, when I was in such a strait in the tumult as before related; and that a stranger should be at last stirred up to rescue me out of the hands of such unreasonable men, as had beset and abused me with violence. I have often been thankful to God for his merciful Providence in that deliverance.

The said soldier who took such care to rescue me, afterward came into Society with the people called Quakers, wherein the Lord showed mercy to him; his name was Robert

Turner, of Lynn. I knew not that he was the man that rescued me till twenty-five years after, when I was again prisoner in Norwich castle, with many more Friends, in the year 1680.

In those days, prisons and gaols were made sanctuaries, and places of refuge and safety to us, from the fury of the tumultuous mob; although we met with but hard usage in those places of severe confinement, many times among notorious criminals; and although I suffered both in tumults and imprisonments, by hard usage in them, the Lord helped and sustained me by his Divine power and goodness, so that I was not weary of his service, nor my spirit faint in my sufferings. The grateful remembrance of his goodness, and lively sense of his love to my soul in those days, still live and remain upon my spirit; praised be our God for ever and evermore!

My dear friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, being longer detained prisoner at Norwich castle than I was in the city prison, in the year 1654–5, I wanted a suitable companion to travel with me, in the work of the Gospel ministry in those parts; except, as before related, Richard Clayton travelled with me in some parts of Norfolk; and Thomas Bond was with me for a short space at some few meetings,

where I had laboured in the Lord's work and service.

The Lord did greatly assist me, and gave me living encouragement and comfort when I was much alone, in his work and service; and I was the more comforted and animated in spirit by his Divine power and presence, in feeling and perceiving his blessed work to prosper, and the Truth of the Gospel of Christ take effect upon the hearts and spirits of many, both old and young; opening their understandings, convincing them and converting them to Christ the true Light, and turning many from darkness, and the works thereof, to know his Divine Power to make them his dear children and people; as many were in those early days. And how diligent were many in those days, in going many miles to Friend's meetings, both ancient and young, men and women, maidens and children! What love, what brokenness and tenderness, would be and appear in meetings, in those days of their first love and espousals! wherein many were espoused unto Christ Jesus, in his Light, Life, and Spirit, and many of those loving and tender Friends, who were of the first fruits among us, continued and ended their days.

After Richard Hubberthorn was delivered out of Norwich castle, we had some comfortable meetings together, in Norfolk, in the work

and fellowship of the Gospel of Christ Jesus; and particularly at Pulham, at William Grudfield's, who was an ancient, honest-hearted man, and received the Truth and Friends in much love and tenderness: and also at Matthew Elmy's, at Margret's of Ilkisson, in the nine parishes, not far from Beccles. He and his wife and family received the love of the Truth, and were very honest, loving people.

On that side the country, were gathered a few Friends who were truly convinced and turned to the Lord, his light and Spirit in their hearts; among whom was William Bennet, whom the Lord endued with his heavenly gift, so as he became a living minister of the Gospel of Life and salvation, being also of an innocent and holy conversation; and afterward for his faithful testimony, he was a great sufferer in Edmunds-Bury gaol.

The said Richard Hubberthorn and I also had a considerable public meeting at Beccles, in a yard or orchard, where several sorts of professing people came; some of them opposed, others questioned our testimony concerning the Light of Christ in men, or, His enlightening every man that cometh into the world. Our doctrine of the Light within, was chiefly questioned and stumbled at in those times, even by many great professors and teachers, as if it had

been some new doctrine; though it be both as ancient and scriptural as any other Divinity, taught by the holy prophets or ministers of God or Christ.

Among the opposers and questioners of our doctrine of the Light, at our said meeting at Beccles, was one Richard Townsend, who behaved himself more mildly than some of the company, seeming to be more upon the enquiry than any way prepossessed with prejudice. Though he stumbled about the Light; yet upon our demonstrating the truth thereof, and how the Light shows to man and reproves him for sin, and would instruct him to repentance, and lead him out of sin and evil, if obeyed and followed; and that when the Gospel is truly and livingly preached to men, this Light in them answers, and beareth witness thereunto, and convinceth them of the truth of what is preached, and declared in the demonstration of the Spirit; and are made capable truly to receive what is so preached and testified unto them, which otherwise they could not by their mere natural capacities. On this wise, or to this effect, the Light within and the doctrine of the Light, being argued for on our parts, the said Richard Townsend confessed, that there is an echo in men's consciences, answering to the ministry of the Gospel; and this echo he some-

what insisted upon, but could not absolutely deny the Principle of Light in men, being spiritual.

Howbeit, after our discourse with him, with our Christian instructions then given, he took these things into farther and deeper consideration, insomuch that Truth took such place in him and bore such weight, that, some time after, he came into Society with our Friends, not only to profess the Truth he had questioned, but also to bear witness thereunto in conversation and public testimony.

In the former part of the summer, in the year 1655, I had a very remarkable, and indeed memorable meeting, in High-Suffolk, at Charsfield, a few miles from Woodbridge, where George Fox the younger then lived with his father; and it was the first meeting of Friends that was on that side of the country, and the largest that I had had before in High-Suffolk: I had no companion then in the ministry with me, but some Friends from Mendlesham side. Unto that meeting there was a very great resort of people about the country of divers sorts; and the Lord having prepared the hearts of many of them, to seek after and receive the Truth, they came with good intentions and desires.

We had the meeting in an orchard or yard; it began before mid-day, and I had a stool to

stand upon. After I had waited upon the Lord a little space, for his Power to arise, and give me strength to stand up in testimony, the people being in great expectation to hear and observe what might be declared, the Lord was graciously pleased to give me strength and ability in his Name, to bear a living and faithful testimony according to the openings and discoveries given me by his Free Spirit, and the ability and gift received of him to preach the everlasting Gospel, in the Name and Power of our Lord Jesus Christ; and agreeable also to the Scriptures of Truth, the testimonies of the holy prophets, Christ Jesus, and his apostles. I was wonderfully assisted and enlarged in my testimony for Him and his blessed Gospel Truth, insomuch that I was enabled to stand upon the stool, though slippery, near five hours that day, preaching the Truth, and opening those things which concerned the kingdom of Christ and of God, and men's everlasting salvation. And many were that day livingly touched in their hearts, and effectually convinced in their consciences, of the Truth then sincerely and livingly declared unto them in the power and demonstration of the Holy Spirit.

After I had declared for some time, one John Burch, a preacher among the Baptists, appeared to make some objections about the ordinances,

as water baptism, &c. and also about the coming of Christ in person. I being called unto a spiritual ministry, in order to bring people out of shadows to the substance, and to know Christ in Spirit, and not after the flesh, nor to rest only in a literal knowledge of Christ, but that they might know him livingly and inwardly after the Spirit; I gave answer to him, in the spirit of meekness, for his better information, and instruction in the way of God more perfectly than either John's baptism, outward shadows, or mere literal knowledge could bring any one to.

In a little time John was silent, and seemed somewhat satisfied, and after farther and serious consideration, came to receive the Truth in an inward sight and sense of the power thereof, insomuch that he laid down his former preaching and profession, and became willing to wait upon the Lord among Friends in silence. And after some years, he was raised up to bear testimony to the Light, the Spirit, and Power of Christ Jesus; and so came to be a minister thereof, in order to bring people into the knowledge of Christ and his spiritual baptism in them. In his ministry, the said John Burch was very serviceable, especially in his latter days: he kept in the faith of Christ; and in love and unity ended his days in peace.

But to return to the said remarkable and memo-

rable meeting; in the latter part thereof, came several noted priests, who were pastors and teachers among the people called Independents, as Francis Woodell, and one —— Habergham, with some others, and made some objections and questionings; both the people and John Burch and company being very attentive, and observing to see what work they would make of it against us.

They came wrongfully prepossessed and prejudiced against us, that we denied the Holy Scriptures, Christ, his ordinances, church and ministry. But in a little discourse with them, I perceived they were to seek, being ignorant of our Christian principles and doctrine; but what they had conceived against us, seemed chiefly to proceed from the false and injurious reports of our adversaries, whereby we had been rendered so monstrous, so anti-christian, and anti-scriptural, in religion and profession, that they thought they might easily deal with us, and run us down: but such sort of prejudging, and condemning people, caused those opposers, and many others, to go but lamely to work against us; and the clearness of our Christian confessions and scriptural vindications, has many times put a damp upon their spirits when they have come upon trial face to face; as it appeared at that time with the said Independent ministers;

and as I have known in many disputes which I have been concerned in, with opposers and adversaries, how quickly they have been quashed, when they have appeared against us from false reports, and the authorities of envious adversaries; which they who are credulous of, will gain no credit by, especially when they will judge or condemn others upon such reports and misrepresentations: for this I have often observed in religious controversies or disputes, my opponent could give me no greater advantage against him, than by making use of false reports, or authorities of malicious persons, or their books; or by his being given to passion, anger, or fury, which blind mens' minds, and cloud their reason and understandings.

But the aforesaid ministers, however prepossessed, carried themselves tolerably moderate towards me and our Friends, at the said meeting; and after they were clearly and plainly answered, and their expectations of getting any advantage against us or our doctrine frustrated, they departed; and the Truth greatly gained ground that day, and at that meeting; and many were truly convinced, and their hearts turned to God, his Grace, and Truth.

That was the first and foundation-meeting which we had on that side of High-Suffolk, and which ever since has continued in those parts;

as after that, for a long time at Dalingho, at Robert Mann's; at John Bennet's, at Bradfield; and at William Fiddeman's, and sometimes at Arthur Goddard's, all on that side the country, a few miles from Woodbridge. These were honest, loving Friends, who thus early received the blessed Truth, and Friends, and meetings at their houses, and continued so to the end of their days; some years after the meeting was settled at Woodbridge.

A little while after the said meeting, Richard Hubberthorn met me in High-Suffolk, and we had a good, large, and quiet meeting, at the same place, to which came some of the said ministers, and other professors; we met with no great opposition from them, there being some more moderately inquisitive than others; besides they could not tell what to make of the Light within, or immortal Seed in man, or our doctrine thereof, though scriptural; yet in those days, those professing Independent ministers were in high esteem, being paramount, and divers of them parish priests.

Things then were quietly managed to the end of the meeting, and the Truth still gained ground; and many grew weary of the priests, and more and more left them and their formal worship, and resorted to our meeting, both in that county and in Norfolk; and many meetings of our Friends came to be settled in those places.

After considerable labour and service in testimony for the Truth and Gospel of Christ Jesus, in the years 1654 and 1655, besides the imprisonment in Norwich before related, my dear friend Richard Clayton and I meeting again in High-Suffolk, in the 5th month, 1655, travelled together to Colchester; where James Parnel, that early servant of Christ, was prisoner in the castle, he being committed but a little time before we visited him in prison. He was given up to suffer for his faithful testimony, was comforted in our visit; and we were glad to see him so well. So we travelled forward on the road toward London, being desirous to see our brethren and friends in that city, if the Lord had permitted. We went that day from the White Elm near Ipswich, to near Chelmsford on foot, being nearly forty miles; and in the road, meeting with our dear friend and brother George Fox, and Amos Stoddard, coming from London into Essex, were very glad to see them; insomuch that our desires of going forward were in part answered for that time; and we were willing to stay with them at some meetings in Essex; which we did, as at Great Coggeshall and Lexden near Colchester, where George Fox gave large testimony to the Truth of Christ, and against the world's corruptions.

On the First-day of the week following, being

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the 29th day of the 5th month, 1655, I had a very good meeting at South-Halsted, in John Isaac's barn, Richard Clayton being with me; and John Harwood, a Yorkshire man, having met us in Essex, was minded to travel a little with us. At that meeting the Lord greatly enlarged my heart, in his Gospel testimony toward that people; for the hearts of many of them were well-disposed and inclined toward God and his blessed Truth: and he, by his invisible Power, had opened a door of entrance among them, as well as a door of utterance unto them. James Parnel had been instrumental to convince divers in those parts that summer, before his imprisonment at Colchester; and by his testimony and living ministry, divers professors were shaken, and at a loss in their professions and notions which they had gathered in their heads, without experience of a true heart work by the Power of Christ: for profession and talk of religion and church, did greatly abound in those days, as well as pride and self-conceit, which the Lord was about to stain and abase, as he manifestly did in a short time after; for those summer shows of religion would not endure a stormy winter.

I must confess to the glory of God in my own self-abasement, and his bearing sway over my will and affection, by his own Power, Wisdom,

and Providence, I was at that time prevented from going to London, to visit my brethren and friends there, according to my own desire and affection; the Lord having then more work and service, as well as suffering for me to go through in the country, and particularly in the county of Suffolk, before I might obtain my desire of going to London: having had blessed and effectual service, by the special assistance of the Lord's Power in Norfolk and in High-Suffolk, I must now be a sufferer in Low-Suffolk, and bear my testimony for Him, in a hard confinement and inhuman treatment in prison; for in those days among the exercises which befel many of us, whom the Lord so early called, and sent forth to preach the Gospel of repentance unto life and salvation, we were led one while to run to and fro, that knowledge might increase among people, in the ways and dealings of the Lord; another while suddenly were permitted to be taken and imprisoned, strictly confined, and severely used; as the subsequent accounts may in part show, and also what manner of spirit did rule in and influence some sorts of men, under high professions, and great pretensions of religion and Christianity; and how unchristian they were in practice.

SECTION IV.

G. W. and others imprisoned in Edmunds-Bury gaol—released by order from the Protector—Visits London, and returns into Essex and Suffolk—Cruelly whipped at Nayland, when not 21 years of age—Travels afterwards in Essex, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire till the middle of the year 1657.

Of the severe imprisonment referred to in the preceding chapter, the author has given a very minute account, the substance of which will be found in the following summary.

Richard Clayton and John Harwood appear to have accompanied George Whitehead into Suffolk; and in passing through the town of Bures, Richard Clayton thought it his duty to affix a paper upon the steeple-house door, on which several passages of Scripture were written, to show "the evil fruits, covetousness, and corruption of false teachers and leaders." His companions passed on a little way whilst he was putting up the paper; but observing that some people were collected about him, they returned, and exhorted them "to fear God and turn from the evil of their ways."

Whilst they were speaking, a constable of the place arrived, who took George Whitehead

and John Harwood before a justice of the peace. He, though unable to show any law which they had broken, committed them to Edmunds-Bury gaol, to take their trial at the sessions. Richard Clayton was taken before the same magistrate, who ordered him to be whipped in the town, and sent out of it with a pass; which was accordingly done.

After laying between two and three months in gaol the sessions arrived, when George Whitehead and John Harwood were tried as common disturbers of the peace. In the commitment, George Whitehead had been described as an idle wandering fellow from Orton in Cumberland; but the indictment was preferred against George Whitehead and John Harwood as labourers of Bures; and they were accused of having several times disturbed the magistrates and ministers; and with having been several days and times at Bures before they were taken prisoners. But neither the obvious error in the description of the prisoners, nor the entire want of proof of the charge could avail any thing in their favour.

They were scarcely permitted to speak; and the justice who committed them and who was on the bench, acted as an accuser, and threatened the gaoler to fine him forty shillings, if he did not silence them when they attempted to answer the charges brought against them.

The jury complied with the wishes of the magistrates, and brought in a verdict that they were guilty according to the manner and form of the indictment; and they were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty nobles each.

As they would have considered the payment of this fine an acknowledgment of guilt, they refused the payment of it and were returned to their prison, where they continued twelve months, and endured, as we shall afterwards find, extreme privations and sufferings.

As one of the magistrates was passing out of the session-house, he was met by a young man of the name of George Fox, who had recently been convinced of Friends' principles, and who had witnessed the flagrant injustice on the part of the magistrates. Addressing himself to the individual who was now passing him, he warned him to repent of his unjust conduct that day, adding, that "if he did not, he could not escape the just judgments of God." The justice immediately took hold of him, and causing him to be haled before the bench, accused him and said he should go to prison, unless he would find securities to appear at the next sessions; though he showed no law which George Fox had transgressed.

To prison he was accordingly sent; and there with his friends partook of the same hard-

ships in the common gaol for above twelve months; for though at the ensuing sessions, no indictment was preferred against him; he was nevertheless remanded to prison to be left there unless he could find sureties for his appearance at the following sessions; and when these arrived, although no accuser appeared against him, he was still detained in prison.

"So arbitrary against us," says George Whitehead, "were our persecutors in their proceedings; though professors both of Christian religion and justice, and professing to act in the name and behalf of the Lord Protector."

Their resolute opposition to whatever they deemed to be wrong, made the early Friends no less obnoxious to the keepers of prisons than to the magistrates who committed them. Against vice and extortion in every form they held forth a bold and patient testimony. Prisons were then in a very wretched state; and with every alleviation, confinement in them was a severe punishment; but it was very highly aggravated by the treatment which our early Friends generally met with.

Of this the treatment of George Whitehead and his companions in Edmunds-Bury gaol, affords a striking example.

"After two of us," says he, "were first sent to prison, we had a lodging in an upper room for about two or three weeks, and then understanding that the gaoler would exact upon us for rent, and expecting our confinement might be of long continuance, we desired a free prison, whereupon we were turned into the common ward among felons; where, after continuance a few weeks, Samuel Duncan in compassion to us, privately gave the gaoler some money to let us lodge from the felons. But when the time for that money was ended, the gaoler insisted upon his old exaction of four-pence a night from each of us, which we were neither free to yield to, nor to suffer any of our Friends to be charged with; but again desired a free prison: and thereupon we were again turned into the common ward. In the interim, whilst we lodged above, two notorious robbers, who were of that company that had robbed Sir George Wyninif's House, and were condemned at the assizes before, broke prison, and made their escape, leaving their irons and shackles behind them; so that we were glad we were not present in the common ward at the time, for they were desperate fellows, and made their escape for their lives. We esteemed it a providence, that the said Friend had for that little time procured our lodging apart from the felons.

"Although we were now settled in the common ward among felons, in a low dungeon-like place, under a market-house, our poor lodging being upon rye-straw, on a damp earthen floor, we were therewith content, and the place was sanctified to us. But not being willing to contribute to the gaoler's extortion, nor free to buy any of his beer, (he keeping a taphouse, and divers of his prisoners often drunk,) his anger and rage grew very much against us, after we were so many as five sent to prison successively one after another, and all in the common ward, drinking only water.

"That which he appeared most enraged against us for, was because we frequently testified and cried against, the foul and horrid sins of drunkenness, swearing, and other disorders and abuses among the prisoners; and which the gaoler's servants occasioned, by his suffering their excessive drinking of strong beer for his ungodly gain.

"But the Lord stirred us up the more zealously to cry aloud against the wickedness of the gaoler, his servants, and the prisoners, for these gross evils; because the gaoler made a profession of religion and piety, calling in the prisoners on first days, towards evening, to instruct them, and exercise his sort of devotion among them. And because I told him of his hypocrisy

therein, his fruits being so very contrary, his daughter was offended, saying: 'What! call my father a hypocrite, who has been a saint forty years?'

"Many times hath the said gaoler shamefully abused us both in words and actions, whereby his servants, his tapster and turn-key, and some of his drunken prisoners, took the greater encouragement to follow his example; for his tapster hath often grossly abused us, both by words, furious attempts, and violent actions.

"The said tapster not only threatened us, but cast a stone violently, whereby he hit one, and in his rage took up a stool to have cast at some of us, but was prevented by one present taking hold of it; and not only so, but was often slandering and beating some of us on the faces, and also violently buffetting with his fists, for no other cause, but reprehending his and their wickedness, disorders, and abuses.

"Some of the prisoners also have often abused us, by taking away our food; alleging the goaler gave them leave so to do, and thereby taking occasion to do us mischief; several times beating some of us, stoning, despitefully using us, threatening to kill, and to knock some of us on the head.

"One said: 'If he did kill us, he should not be hanged for it; and that there was no law for

us if he did kill us;' and being drunk with the gaoler's strong beer, he kicked and wounded some of us on the legs, and greatly abused us, knowing it was against our principle and practice to fight or beat him again ; which we could easily have done and the rest of the gaoler's drunkards that abused us, if our principle would have allowed, being five of us, mostly able and lively young men; but we esteemed it greater valour, and more Christian, patiently to suffer such injuries for CHRIST, than to fight for Him, or avenge ourselves ; and rather, when smitten on one cheek, to turn the other, than to smite again. The said drunken prisoner who had so abused us, when he was a little sober, confessed, that the gaoler made him worse than he would have been against us.

"But by such inhuman usage, the gaoler could not force our compliance with his covetous designs or corrupt practices."

Very frequently were the prisoners struck with such violence by the gaoler or his agents, that the blood gushed from their mouths and noses; and after they had been more than thirty weeks in prison, the gaoler demanded of them fourteen pence a week each for their accommodation, although on their demanding a free prison, soon after they came in, he had taken away their

bed clothes, their boxes in which they had food, linen, and other things, and even their night caps, and had left them nothing but straw to lie upon. As the prisoners would not comply with the unjust demands of the gaoler, he became still more enraged against them; and they continuing to testify against the drunkenness and other vices which he suffered and indeed promoted, to secure his own interest,* he threatened to lock them up in a low nasty room; and soon after did put four of the prisoners, of whom George Whitehead was one, into this place. There was also in a part of the prison a dismal dungeon, into which with two of his companions he was let down by a ladder. The place was about four yards deep under ground, very dark, and but little compass at the bottom; and in the midst was an iron grate with bars above a foot distance, extending over a pit or hole, they knew not how deep; "but being warned thereof," says the author, "by a woman who saw us put down and pitied us, we kept near the sides of the dungeon that we might not fall into the pit; and there we were detained nearly four hours, singing praises

* It was the general practice at this time for the gaoler to sell ale, wine, and spirits; and to derive from this trade a great part of his emolument. An act of parliament in the 24th year of Geo. II. prohibited this practice.

to the Lord our God in the sweet enjoyment and living sense of his glorious Presence; being nothing terrified or dismayed at their cruelties; but cheerfully resigned in the will of the Lord to suffer for his Name and Truth's sake, if they had left us to perish in that dark, dismal, and stinking dungeon.

"Upon the same day that we were in the dungeon, several of our friends came to visit us from Norwich, Colchester, and other places; but were not suffered to come to us;—and divers other times we have been thus dealt with; and not only so, but when they have come to the prison door or window they have had water cast upon them, by some of the gaoler's company; he pretending that he had orders from the justices, that none of our friends should come to us: nevertheless both he and his wife told them, that if they would pay the key-turner six-pence or four-pence a piece, he would let them come to us; but they refused to gratify his covetousness."

At length however, through the medium of the Friends in London, an account of the sufferings of the prisoners was laid before the Protector; and, in consequence, an order was given to have the matters complained of inquired into. The examination was conducted by some neighbouring justices, one of whom showed a decided

inclination to the gaoler's cause; and though the principal charges were proved, yet this justice was disposed to extenuate the conduct of the gaoler, on the ground of their having reproved him for his cruelty. Some of the justices, however, did not hesitate to blame the gaoler's conduct, and warned him not to suffer his servants to abuse the prisoners; as if they did so, they would send his servants to Ipswich gaol. They also commended George Whitehead's moderation on the occasion.

The exposure of the gaoler's cruelty in these examinations, though it did not lead to their release, had a considerable influence upon their treatment during the remainder of their confinement; and their friends in London, made frequent application to Oliver Cromwell for their liberation. He was particularly applied to by a waiting gentlewoman in his family, of the name of Mary Sanders.* She was a Friend, and often availed herself of opportunities to remind the Protector of the suffering situation of the Friends in prison. At length, after George Whitehead had been fifteen months a prisoner, an order was made by the Protector

* This person and some other members of the Protector's family, were convinced of the principles of Friends, in a visit paid to him by Francis Howgill.

and council, for the release of the Quakers imprisoned at Colchester, Edmunds-Bury, and Ipswich; and it was referred to Sir Francis Russell to see to the execution of the order. Sir Francis appears to have performed his task with alacrity; and George Whitehead says:

"In kindness to us he gave us an order or warrant to produce in our defence, if there should be occasion; that we might travel without interruption, not confining us to go to our respective homes. He was a considerate tender spirited man, and showed compassion towards us and our Friends, who were sufferers for conscience' sake."

George Whitehead considered Sir Francis Russell to be decidedly against persecution; and going near his residence in the year 1659, he called upon him; and was entertained with religious and friendly discourse, in the course of which Sir Francis intimated, that he had been very adverse to the severity James Naylor had met with, when prosecuted before the parliament in 1656.

George Whitehead was now once more at liberty to visit his friends, and exercise himself in the vocation of a Christian minister. But before we pursue the course of his narrative, we must not omit the commemoration which he makes of the Lord's mercies, to himself and his

fellow prisoners, during their severe imprisonment in Bury gaol.

"I am," says he, "truly and humbly thankful to the Lord our God, in remembrance of his great kindness to us; how wonderfully He supported and comforted us, through and over all our tribulations, strait confinement, and ill usage; and preserved us in bodily health. In the comfortable enjoyment of his glorious Divine Power and Presence, several of us have often been made to sing aloud in praise to his glorious Name; yea, his high praises have been in our mouths oftentimes, to the great amazement and astonishment of the malefactors shut up in the same ward with us. When walking therein, our hearts have been lifted up in living praise to the Lord, often for several hours together, with voices of melody. O! the sweet Presence and power of the Lord our God! how precious to be enjoyed in prisons, and dungeons, and strait confinements! O! my soul! bless thou the Lord; and for ever praise his excellent Name, for the true inward sense and experience thou hast often and long had, and still hast of his Divine Power, and unspeakable goodness! Glory and dominion be to our God, and to the Lamb that sits upon the throne, for ever and ever! Let the praise be unto Him, in whom is our help, salvation, and strength!

"Although we were confined to a noisome common ward, and strait stinking yard, yet the Lord by his power so sanctified the confinement to me, that I had great peace, comfort, and sweet solace, and was sometimes transported and wrapt up in spirit, as if in a pleasant field, having the fragrant scent, and sweet smell of flowers and things growing therein, though I was not in an ecstasy or trance, my senses being affected therewith; so that the Lord made bitter things sweet unto me, and hardships easy; although we were sensible our persecutors and oppressors were so cruel toward us, that they cared not if we had all perished in that gaol. But our trust and confidence was in the Name of the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlasting strength and safety: to whom be everlasting glory, dominion, and praise, world without end!

"I humbly hope and trust in the Lord, I shall never forget his loving-kindness and mercy shown unto me, in those cloudy days of distress and affliction."

We shall now pursue, with but little curtailment, George Whitehead's own narrative.

"Before the winter in 1656 was ended, the Lord gave me an opportunity to visit Friends at London, of which before my imprisonment at Edmunds-Bury, I was prevented. That visit

was very acceptable to Friends there, and I had very good service in and through the meetings, in the ministry and demonstration of the Holy Spirit and Truth of Christ; and divers were convinced thereby, while I was among them, which was not long; but I was concerned to return into Essex, Suffolk, &c. And having visited meetings at Colchester, Coggeshall, and other parts of Essex, as in Denge Hundred, and divers parts of the county, and also at Sudbury, and Haverhill, and other places in Suffolk.

"A concern fell upon me to have a meeting at Saffron-Walden, where I had a considerably large and good meeting; though toward the conclusion, some professors made a little opposition, but were soon answered and silenced. Yet notwithstanding I and some Friends of Essex being at an inn that evening, and at supper, in came the bailiff of the town with a constable or some officer, and others with them, and caused me to be taken away, set in the stocks, and there kept for some time in the night, before they let me out; and this without any law, or any crime laid to my charge, but only out of a peevish humour, and their own envious wills, and to cast causeless contempt upon me and my friends. I wrote to the bailiff next morning, to know if he had any matter of fact against me, or any more to say to me; but he

gave me no answer, so I went away thence quietly to Cambridge, and parts adjacent, and visited meetings in the love of God to and fro, in the counties; taking a circuit until I returned into Essex, to Colchester, &c.

"I had a meeting at Nayland in Suffolk, not far from Colchester, where the common people were so rude, that they would not suffer the meeting to be quiet within doors, but were ready in appearance, to pull down the house, which was but small; whereupon we drew out the meeting into a meadow ground, near the town's end on the Essex side. The meeting was large, and I had a good and full opportunity to declare and demonstrate the living Truth, with power and dominion given me of God; whose power was over all, and came so over the meeting, that it was quiet, though it was held for near three hours together, and the season somewhat cold.

"That morning before the meeting, the Friend of the house where it was appointed at Nayland, came to me weeping, and under trouble, poor man! because some wicked fellows of the town had threatened to kill me, if I had a meeting there. I pitied the man, for that he had let in such fears from their cruel threats, and told him, I did not fear them; I was given up in the will of God, in whose

hands my life was, and they should do no more than He permitted them; and I doubted not but the Lord would restrain them; and their envy and wicked purposes; and I would not disappoint the said meeting, nor alter the appointment thereof. So I encouraged the poor Friend against his fears; and the Lord appeared for me both in his service, and in my own and Friend's preservation, by his Divine Power; that giving us dominion, and a quiet meeting, as before related. Let the dominion, glory and praise, be ascribed and returned to Him for ever!

"After a few weeks the Lord again laid a concern upon me to have another meeting at Nayland aforesaid, which accordingly was appointed at the same Friend's house where the first was. But this second meeting was held in his yard, or little orchard, unto which divers Friends of Colchester, and other places in Essex and Suffolk came. After we had for some time waited upon the Lord in silence, I was moved to stand up on a stool, and preach the everlasting Gospel, and to testify against sin and wickedness, against the beast and false prophet, against the devil's persecuting power and ministry, &c. After I had for a considerable time declared the Truth in the meeting, a person, a

pretended gentleman, came rushing in with a constable and rude company, and with violence pulled me down; and some of them, with the constable, had me to Assington, to our old adversary, John Gurden, who presently began to threaten me. I desired his moderation to hear me before he passed judgment: 'You are a moderate rogue' said he. 'Moderate rogue!' said I, 'such language doth not become a justice of peace, especially one professing Christianity.' He in great fury highly threatened me, by which I apprehended he then designed to lay me fast in gaol again, as he had caused several of us deeply to suffer: after his angry threats, he returned into his parlour, where his son and the priest of the parish were to consult.

"In the interim I sat in his hall, waiting upon the Lord, and some Friends with me; and then I secretly breathed in spirit, that if it might stand with his will, He would not then permit that persecutor to send me to Bury gaol, where I and others had so lately, and for a long time deeply suffered; for his malice ended not in that hard imprisonment of ours. Whereupon the Lord was pleased to answer my desire, and immediately to show me that he should not send me to prison, but cause me to suffer by stripes; whereupon I was greatly refreshed, strengthened, and given up in the will of the

Lord, patiently to endure that punishment, the invidious persecutor was permitted to inflict upon me, it being for Christ's sake, and his Gospel truth; wherein I had great peace and strong consolation in Him for whose sake I suffered.

"Being soon called into the parlour before the said John Gurden, and his son Robert, I was examined by divers questions, as of my name, country, and reason of travelling abroad, &c. Unto which I gave particular answers, and plainly told him and those present, how God would overturn them, and take away their power who were persecutors and oppressors of his servants, or seed; and withal, that God would limit him, i. e. John Gurden, that he should not effect all his evil designs, or purposes. Whereupon deridingly he bid: 'Go, Quake.' I said: 'Dost thou then despise quaking?' He answered, 'Yes; I do despise quaking.' I said: 'Then thou despiseth that which the word of the Lord hath commanded.' 'How prove you that?' said he. 'Bring me a Bible,' said I: a Bible being there, I showed him *Ezekiel* xii. 17, 18. 'Moreover the word of the Lord came to me, saying: Son of man, eat thy bread with quaking, and drink thy water with trembling, and with carefulness.' Whereupon he could not vindicate his despising quaking.

"His clerk took part of my examination in writing as he ordered him, which being read, John Gurden required me to sign it. I signified that it was deficient, or lamely taken: howbeit, he urged me to sign it. Then I took pen, and began to write my exception against the deficiency of the relation, intending to sign the same at the bottom; but John Gurden plucked the pen out of my hand, and said, I should write nothing but my name, which I positively refused; saying, if he would not suffer me to write my distinction, he ought not to impose upon me to sign a relation, which was but in part true.

"When thus treated, and being ordered to withdraw into the hall, John Gurden and his son directed the clerk to draw up a warrant, to have me severely whipped next day at Nayland; being the town where I was taken and haled out of the meeting. John Gurden came out to me into the hall, and highly threatened me again, having a law book in his hand, which I took to be Dalton's justice of peace, and there read some abstract of an ancient statute, or law, against vagrants, sturdy beggars, idle and dissolute persons, loiterers, pedlars, tinkers, &c. with the penalties, &c. intimating to me, that they had ordered me to be whipped at Nayland; and if I came again into that country I should be branded in the shoulder for a rogue; but

if I came the third time, I should be hanged. I answered: 'I am no such person as thou hast mentioned; thou art an old man, and going to thy grave; thou dost not know how soon the Lord may put an end to thy days, and disappoint thee of thy evil designs against me: However I fear not thy threats; if the Lord whom I serve, require my return into these parts, I must obey Him.' 'I know I am an old man,' said he: 'aye,' said I, 'thou art old in iniquity; it is high time for thee to repent.'

"I was called to hear their warrant for my punishment read, and the constable to have his charge of execution given him, which being read, Robert Gurden charged the constable to see their warrant executed upon me to the purpose, at his peril. I told him I could expect no better from him, who falsely swore against Henry Marshall, an honest man, at the quarter-sessions, that he said Christ was a vagabond; whereupon Henry was wrongfully fined as a blasphemer, and kept in gaol with us at Edmunds-Bury, nigh twelve months; his words being most grossly perverted, quite contrary to what he said when taken prisoner; for being accused for a vagabond or vagrant, Henry told them that Cain was a vagabond, though he had a city upon earth; but Christ was no vagabond, though He had not whereon to lay his head.

How contrary was this to the information given upon oath against him at the sessions!

"The warrant being signed and sealed by the father and the son, I was returned back to Nayland, in order to endure the execution thereof the next day. So that night I lodged at a public house, where I rested quietly in much peace.

A COPY OF THE WARRANT AND PASS.

To all constables, and all other officers whom it may concern, and to every of them.

'Be it remembered, that one George Whitehead, a young man about twenty years of age, who confesseth himself to have been born at Orton in Westmoreland, being this present day found vagrant and wandering at Nayland, in this county, contrary to the laws of this nation, and being thereupon brought before us, two justices of the peace for this county, is by us ordered to be openly whipped at Nayland aforesaid, till his body be bloody, as the law in such case enjoineth. And he is to pass thence from parish to parish, by the officers thereof, the next way to Orton aforesaid, before the first day of June now next ensuing. Dated at Assington, in this county of Suffolk, the first day of April, 1657.'

"The said warrant was the next day after its

date, put in severe execution by a foolish fellow, whom the constable, &c. got to do it. When the constable had stripped me above the waist, which he could not persuade myself to do, but I let them act their own cruelty, the foolish fellow with a long sharp whip, laid on so violently, that thereby he cut and wounded both my back and breast with long stripes, tearing the skin and shedding blood, till some people present cried out to stop him; for there was a great number present, it being in a public place, like a market place, in the street; and many wept to see their cruelty; yet by the Lord's Power, I was enabled cheerfully to bear it all with patience, great comfort, and rejoicing, even in the very time of the execution; whereby many were amazed and smitten. How many stripes I had, I do not well know, but remember that the marks thereof were to be seen a long time after, both on my back and breast.

"It is also very memorable to me, how wonderfully the Lord, by his Divine Power, supported me, even at that very instant, while they were inflicting their cruelty and punishment upon my body; that even then my spirit was raised, and my mouth opened to sing aloud in praises to the Lord, my God, for that He counted me worthy to suffer for his Name and Truth's sake.

"When the hand of the executioner was stayed

from beating me, by the cry or call that was made to stop him, I told the people that it was a proof of a minister of Christ, patiently to endure afflictions, persecutions, stripes, and imprisonments, according as the holy apostle testifies: "Approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, &c. as expressed more fully, in 2 *Cor. ch.* vi. And withal while I stood with my stripes and wounds naked before them, I told the officers concerned, that if they had any more to lay upon me, I was ready, and given up to suffer, it being in the cause of Christ, for conscience' sake. I may not forget the wonderful power, aid, and comfort, which the Lord afforded me in that suffering condition.

"The said execution against me, and the solemnity attending it being over at Nayland, I took my horse, and was accompanied out of the town by the constable and others, towards Sudbury, to which town the officers with their said warrant and pass attended me.

"The next day I was passed away from constable to constable, through Clare and Haverhill, into the edge of Cambridgeshire. In Clare, when the warrant was produced to pass me forward, as ordered, several persons took great notice of me, and seeing me have a pretty good

horse, and well habited, some said this young man does not look like a vagrant.

"In the edge of Cambridgeshire, we met with a constable in the field, at the harrow, &c. And it being about nine miles to another constable, toward Cambridge, he thought it was too far for him to go with me. I said, he need not trouble himself, I knew what way to go; he then freely delivered me the warrant, it drawing toward night: whereupon I returned alone to find some town where I might lodge; so I rode about five miles that evening, to a town called Steeple Bumsted, as I remember, in Essex, where I got lodging at an inn: but the inn-keeper being drunk, and understanding I was one called a Quaker, I heard him say, I'll kick him from stile to stile; yet the next morning being more sober, when I paid for what I had, he parted friendly with me.

"Then I rode to Halstead and Coggeshall, and after that to Colchester, and had divers good meetings there and in those parts, and at Sudbury, and near Nayland aforesaid; the country being alarmed and awakened by my suffering, the people were the more stirred up to come to meetings, and to see and hear the young man that was so cruelly whipped at Nayland; and many were tenderly affected and convinced, and the truth of our testimony was the more

spread and prevailed; so that the dark wrath of man turned to the praise of God; and I had great joy and consolation in Christ Jesus, my Lord, for whom I was freely given up to suffer; and He did powerfully sustain and stand by me therein; glory to his Name, and dominion be to Him for ever!

"I was the more deeply concerned in spirit to travel and labour in the gospel ministry in that country, and those parts, where I had so greatly and openly suffered; and often to visit those eastern counties, being supported in spirit, and borne up above all the threats of branding, hanging, &c. and above the envy of that cruel persecuting spirit, and made to despise all the shame it could cast upon me, by reproach and contempt.

"In the forepart of that summer, in the year 1657, meeting with my dear friend and brother Richard Hubberthorn, we travelled together out of Huntingtonshire, from King's Ripon to Leicester, and after that to Coventry, Warwick, and Worcester, and visited Friends in those places, having some meetings with them. Thence we went into Gloucestershire, where we met with our dear brother, George Fox, *sen.* at one justice Grimes's house, a few miles from Gloucester, who with his wife and family, were convinced of the blessed Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, his

Life and Power. In the court yard, George Fox, &c. had a large meeting that first-day we met him. I showed the justice, John Gurden's bloody warrant against me, and the pass before mentioned; at which he wondered, and was offended at his cruelty, and minded to write to him against his persecution.

"The next day after the said meeting, I went to Gloucester, and visited those few Friends then in that city; which was very acceptable to them. After that, I travelled about in that county and Worcestershire, and visited the meetings of Friends mostly round the countries, and in part of Herefordshire; the Word of Life being plenteously in my heart and ministry, enabled me by his Power, largely to preach, to the convincing, strengthening, and comfort of many; although I met with opposition and contention from some Baptists, and others in those parts, as in Gloucestershire, Leominster in Herefordshire, and in the city and county of Worcester, where the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me to stand against and over all the opposition and contention which I met with; for which I did, and ever shall bless that Divine Power whereby I was called forth, and greatly assisted in the defence of the Gospel of our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ."

SECTION V.

G. Whitehead travels in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and Stafford—And in the winter of 1657, in Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland—Returns by York into the eastern counties —An illness at Diss 1658—Imprisoned at Ipswich—Released on the death of Oliver Cromwell—Meetings at and about Ipswich.

George Whitehead has given a pretty long account of some of the disputes in which he was engaged in the further course of this journey; and to which he alludes in the paragraph which closes the last section.

The chief topics which appear to have been discussed on these occasions, were the Scriptures—the Light within—and the possibility of perfection in this life;—but as these topics are discussed in some of the subsequent disputations which will be noticed, we shall now proceed with the author's narrative in his own words.

"In the summer of 1657, I travelled and laboured much in the ministry in the several counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and partly in Staffordshire, and other parts, and visited many meetings in the love

and good will of God, which I had through his dear Son, received a true and living sense and experience of, whereby I was strengthened and supported in great labour, in the work of the ministry of the Gospel; and in which love my service was very acceptable where I travelled among Friends and friendly people. And I met with but little opposition, disputes, or controversies from adversaries, after those I met with in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and once at a meeting at Leominster in Herefordshire; and at a meeting in Warwickshire, where a fierce Baptist began a contest about the Word, but made little work of it; for it was observable how impertinently he opposed our asserting Christ to be the Word of God which was in the beginning, *John* i. 1. And consequently that the Word was before the Scriptures were written.

"Against which, the Baptist made exception from Christ's parable and construction thereof, *Mat.* xiii. 4—19. *Mark* iv. 4—15. *Luke* viii. 5—12. concerning some seeds which fell by the way-side, which the fowls came and devoured; that is, when any one heareth the Word of the Kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart; or, the devil cometh and

taketh away the Word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved, *Luke* viii. 12.

"Hence it was objected, that the devil could not take away Christ out of their hearts, &c. And what then? Neither is it said the devil taketh away the Scriptures out of their hearts, or that the Scriptures were sown in them, or in those several sorts of ground. Parables are not to be taken literally, nor always to be strained to a literal sense. Though the devil cannot catch away Christ out of men's hearts, he can catch away loose and ignorant hearers' hearts from the sense of the Word preached, when touched therewith, that they may not believe and be saved; which is too common among forgetful, barren hearers. And all that can be argued from thence, can never prove that the Word is not Christ, for that is to contradict *John* i. 1. Or that Christ is not the Word preached, for that were to contradict his ministers, who preach Christ the Living, Eternal Word.

"I had sometimes heard of one Rice Jones, and that he was at first convinced of Truth testified by George Fox, but soon turned aside against him and Friends, and gathered a separate meeting, which some people termed, 'Proud Quakers,' he making them believe he was Divinely inspired, so as to open the spiritual sense of the

Scriptures. They kept their meeting at the castle at Nottingham. When I was there, I was concerned to visit them at their meeting, where sitting a while, and observing the manner of their exercise, and their attending to hear Rice expounding Scripture to them, and seeing how dead and empty their devotion or exercise was, I was moved to bear a plain testimony against their deadness, and not waiting to feel the Power of the Lord to quicken them unto his spiritual worship. And I had some discourse with Rice, whereupon he seemed somewhat down in his spirit, and stopped from going on that time.

"A woman present, who appeared to be a sober and chief hearer, seemed somewhat offended at my discourse with him; she said to me, 'I saw a simplicity in you after you came among us, but now the subtilty is got up in you'; whereby she seemed to aim at simplicity: however, my spiritual, living testimony then born among them, had so much effect upon that woman, and some others, that they were convinced of the Truth, and left Rice Jones and his meeting, and came to Friends, perceiving, though he had a form, he denied the power of godliness, and therefore they might well turn away from such. 2 *Tim.* iii. 5.

"And though the said Rice came to some few of our meetings afterward, yet I never heard

that he came to any true settlement in his mind, in the Light or Power of Truth, or to a real love to Friends; for it is not men's professions, or notions gathered merely from the letter, but the Spirit that begets true love, amity, and unity.

"Having laboured in the Gospel work in the counties and places before mentioned, and had divers large meetings that summer; after a meeting without doors at Leicester on a First-day, I was taken sick of a fever, through some cold that had seized upon me, insomuch that my recovery was doubted. When the distemper was at the height, or thereabouts, the Lord showed me in the night time, that He would restore me, and raise me up again; my work was not yet done; I must yet live to bear testimony against the covetous priests, &c. This was so clearly and powerfully revealed, and shown to me, that I was immediately revived thereby; and certainly believed, what I had cause before to question, that the Lord would restore me to health for his Name and work, and people's sake.

"My health sprung up so speedily, that I increased in strength every day; the time of that sickness being about two weeks. The place where I lay that time, was a town called Whetstone, near Leicester, at one Thomas Pauley's, or Parley's, who and his wife were honest loving Friends.

"Quickly after my recovery, I travelled again, in the work and service of the Lord, through part of Warwickshire, and Coventry, and northward as winter was approaching; having several good meetings in Yorkshire; and got well to my parents' house in Westmoreland, to whom I was very acceptable. I was received with great joy and kindness, having been above three years absent from them; and in that space of time, known to have suffered great hardships under persecution; so that I was to them as one risen from the dead; for they had esteemed me as one lost, in a contrary case to mine: 'This my son was dead and is alive again, he was lost and is found.' Though I never was a prodigal, yet counted for one lost, until the Lord gave them a better understanding, who had so thought of me.

"And I was, and am persuaded that in the time of my three years' absence, the Lord did secretly by his Power remove those prejudicial and hard thoughts, out of the hearts and minds of my parents and relations, which the priests had at first influenced them with, concerning me and my Friends, the people called Quakers. I was, and am still fully satisfied, the Lord did secretly plead my innocent cause, after I was deemed a miserable object, and given over for lost and undone; yet through all, the Lord

gave me faith and patience to bear all, and to outlive many oppositions, trials, and exercises, as well as hardships; glory to his excellent Name and Power for evermore!

"I had good opportunities to visit Friends at the several Meetings which I had frequented, before I travelled abroad in the work of the ministry, at Sedbergh, Grayrigg, Kendal, Ravenstondale, and Strickland Meetings; where I was joyfully received; and my ministry, given me of the Lord, was very acceptable, and to the great comfort of many innocent Friends; in whom their first love was fresh and lively, and which they retained to the end of their days.

"I also rode over the sands to Swarthmore in Lancashire to judge Fell's, to visit Margaret Fell and her family, and the meeting of Friends at their house: where we were comforted together in the Lord, and in the great love and unity which our Friends there and in those parts were then in.

"I also visited Friends' meetings through Cumberland, where I had not been much known before that journey; yet Friends being very loving in that county also, they kindly received me and my testimony, and service for the Lord God, and his blessed ever-living Truth; He having made me zealously concerned for the promoting and spreading thereof, as

well as enabled me to endure great suffering and hardships for the same.

"In those days, Friends in the west part of Cumberland kept their meetings without doors, at a place on the common, called Pardshaw Cragg, not having convenient house room to contain the meetings. It was very cold, stormy, snowy weather at one of the meetings which I had on the said Cragg, but as there are several sides of it under the wind, so Friends commonly met on the calmest side. And truly several good and blessed meetings I had at the said Pardshaw Cragg, both in the winter and summer; and some within doors, since our Friends got a meeting-house built there.

"Likewise our Friends of Strickland and Shapp, and that side of Westmoreland, kept their meetings for some years on the common, both winter and summer, until they got a meeting house built at Great Strickland. Friends in those northern countries were greatly enabled to bear the cold, and all sorts of weather, when they had their meetings on the commons and mountainous places, for several years at first.

"And when it has rained most of the time, at some meetings where we have been very much wet, I do not recollect that ever I got any hurt thereby; the Lord so preserved and defended us by his Power. Blessed be his Name who

did enable me and many others to stand, and to bear divers kinds of storms and winds, &c.

"I travelled the former part of the winter, 1657, in Westmoreland, and also into the county of Durham, to Newcastle and Northumberland; and thoroughly visited the meetings of Friends in those parts, and at Berwick-upon-Tweed; and returned back to that called Holy Island by the sea-side, where the wife of the governor of the garrison or fort there, was a Friend; Richard Wilson, a Friend of Sunderland, accompanying me to Berwick, and back again: we were kindly received in that island, both by the governor, Captain Phillipps, and his wife. And that evening I had a meeting in the castle, where the garrison was kept in the family, and among the soldiers, who were civil to us. We lodged there that night, being kindly entertained; and the next morning the governor sent his man with us to guide us over the sands. He being then convinced of the Truth, did the more manifest his kindness to us, and became a Friend. And some time after, he and his wife removed into Oxfordshire, to Banbury side; and so far as I know, both continued Friends to the end.

"In our return through Northumberland I declared the Truth, and warned the people in several towns, to repentance and amendment of

life; particularly in one town, where they had a piper playing, and people about him dancing, by a haystack in a yard. I rode up to them; and in the dread of the Lord warned them to repentance; whereupon the piper ceased playing, and he and the people present heard me quietly, till I had cleared my conscience, and then parted peaceably from them. But few Friends or meetings were then in that county. And as we travelled to Berwick and back again, it was hard for us to get lodgings in some places, particularly at Alnwick, as we went, and one other place in our return, and we had but a small meeting of Friends at Berwick.

"Our loving Friend John Dove, and his wife and family, at Whittlesey, kindly received me, at his house; and at North Shields, and Tinmouth, I had a meeting at each place.

"Great endeavours were used for us to have had some meetings in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; but the mayor of the town, influenced by the priests, would not suffer us to keep any meeting within the liberty; though in Gateside our Friends had settled a meeting at our beloved Friend Richard Ubank's house.

"The first meeting we endeavoured to have in the town of Newcastle, was in a large room taken by some Friends; William Coatsworth of South Shields, and others, being zealously concerned for the same.

"The meeting was not fully gathered, when the mayor of the town and his officers came; and by force turned us out, and out of the town also; for the mayor and his company commanded us, and went along with us so far as the bridge, over the river Tyne, that parts Newcastle and Gateside; upon which bridge there is a blue stone, to which the mayor's liberty only extends, which when we came to, the mayor gave his charge to each of us in these words, viz.

"I charge and command you, in the name of his highness the lord Protector, that you come no more into Newcastle, to have any more meetings there, at your peril.

"On a First-day after, we met again in the town of Newcastle, without doors, near the riverside, where the mayor's officers came again, and haled us away as before; and in Gateside we could enjoy our meetings peaceably, which we were thankful to God for.

"Being thus forcibly disappointed of keeping any meetings in the town, some Friend or Friends, agreed with the man that kept the guildhall, or shirehouse, to suffer us to have a meeting therein, it being without the liberty of the town; yet, though the keeper of the hall had agreed for the price, the priest, whose name was Hammond, interposed to prevent our meet-

ing, and persuaded the said keeper to break his word with our Friends, and to keep them out of the house he had agreed they should meet in; the priest giving him half a crown to go back from his bargain: for the said keeper was constrained to show the cause of breach of his agreement, in thus keeping us out of doors.

"Being thus perfidiously disappointed of the house, after the meeting had been appointed, we were necessitated to keep the meeting on the side of the hill near the said shirehouse, that being also without the mayor's liberty.

"However it was so ordered of the Lord, by his over-ruling Power, that we had not only a large meeting and a great concourse of people besides our own Friends, but it was also kept quiet, and the spirits of people subjected and brought under, by the power and prevalency of Truth, and Gospel testimony, which the Lord our God gave me strength to bear in that meeting, in power and authority for a considerable time, as I really believe, for two or three hours together; and my voice was raised to that degree, that some said I was heard from off the side of the castle-hill, over the river Tyne, into Gateside.

"I must needs say that day's work and service is to me very memorable; and the fresh remembrance of the goodness and power of the Lord,

my strength and help in his own work and service, is still matter of comfort to me, and the more, in that I feel a living sense of the continuance of the same Divine goodness, love, and Power of the Lord God with me still, that did assist and help me through deep sufferings, trials, and weighty undertakings in his service, for his Holy Name and blessed Truth's sake. 'O my soul, bless thou the Lord, and let all that is within me praise his Holy Name; for his mercy endures for ever!'

"When I found myself clear in spirit of those parts, I took my journey to York, and forward pretty directly toward the isle of Ely, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, &c. where my service, as well as sufferings, had chiefly been.

"After great labour and travel in many parts of the nation, as before related; in the second month of the year 1658, I was taken sick of an ague and fever, which began in Essex. Under it I laboured for some days, and had divers meetings until I got into Norfolk, though in a low condition; and my weakness so increased, that I was constrained to stay at a Friend's house at Diss for two or three weeks, until the Lord was pleased to recover and restore me by degrees, to my health and strength; although I was brought so very low by that sickness, that my recovery appeared to be by a special provi-

dence of God, who hath been pleased to lengthen out my days for his Name and work's sake: He having by his over-ruling Power and merciful Providence, afforded me such manifest preservations, that neither furious tumults, stonings, beating, cruel confinements, severe stripes, manifold labours, travels, nor sickness, were hitherto suffered to shorten my days; for the Lord has prolonged them even far beyond my own expectation, many years ago, as well as to the disappointment of my cruel persecutors' expectations and desires. Let my heart and soul in true humility, bless the Lord our God for his manifold blessings and eminent preservations, both inward and outward: Let Him have the glory and praise of all, who alone is worthy for ever more!

"On the 12th day of the fifth month, 1658, as I was riding through the town of Hoxon in Suffolk, and meeting with Edward Willan, priest of the town; I exhorted him to fear God and cease from iniquity. Then we fell into some discourse, wherein the priest accused me, of seducing his flock from the church, I having had a meeting in the town the day before. I asked the priest concerning Hoxon steeple-house, if that was the church he spake of? He affirmed, that it was the church. I demanded of him to prove that such a house made of wood

and stone was the Church of Christ. He pretended to prove it was, from 1 *Cor.* ii. 22. 'Or despise ye the Church of God?' which no way proves the Church of God to be such a house as is made up of wood and stone; for the apostle in the very same place distinguishes between their houses and the Church of God; in saying: 'What have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the Church of God?' I told the priest, that the Church of Christ was built up of living stones. That he granted; yet stood to maintain the outward house, or fabrick, to be the Church; though he acknowledged that house was not built of living stones; but alleged that when the apostle spake of the Church, he spake by a Metonimy, i. e. of the thing containing, for the thing contained, wherein he wronged the apostle's words and sense; for when the apostle wrote to the Church of Christ, or to the Church of God, he wrote to them that were sanctified in Christ, called to be saints, &c. 1 *Cor.* i. 2. And to 'the Church which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 *Thes.* i. 1. This was to the sanctified people, the saints, he wrote, not to a house of wood and stone."

Whichever had the best of the argument, the power was on the side of the priest; and becoming very angry with his opponent, he seized the bridle of his horse, and forcibly held him, until, with the assistance of some of his friends, he obliged him to go before a justice of peace in the neighbourhood.

It appears that during this transaction George Whitehead charged the priest with being a persecutor, and this expression was mainly relied upon in the charge brought against him, when he came before the magistrate; though it occurred during the forcible attempt to take him there.

George Whitehead maintained that he had broken no law; but the justice pretending that a late act of parliament for the punishment of vagrants, dissolute persons, and fiddlers, "was made only for Quakers;" granted a mittimus to commit him to Ipswich gaol charged with having *reviled the priest*. So hasty were they to convey him to prison, that they hurried him away that night on horseback; and after riding most of the night, he and his guards reached Ipswich, a distance of about twenty miles, a little after sun-rising. He soon found himself in the common or felon's gaol; where, he says, he met with "William Alexander of Needham, an honest young man, and two other honest

Friends, who suffered for non-payment of tithes."

Their beds were of straw; but the keeper was more civil to them than the gaoler at Edmunds-Bury had been to George Whitehead and his companions.

At the quarter sessions the priest appeared, and swore that the prisoner had reviled the ministry of the Word of God, at a meeting at Hoxon; though he admitted in court, that he had not been present at the meeting. He had brought, however, another witness to declare the same; and the jury, as was usual in those days, complying with the persecuting wishes of the priests, brought in a verdict of guilty. The parties having sentenced him to pay a fine of twenty shillings, which he could not conscientiously pay, he was returned to the prison, and was there detained for some weeks; until Oliver Cromwell died, and his son Richard was proclaimed Protector. Soon after this event, by the interference of some of his friends, he was liberated from his imprisonment; after having been confined about sixteen weeks.

The course of suffering to which his exertions as *an itinerant minister* of Christ, exposed this young, active, and zealous labourer, appears to have had no tendency to abate his efforts to promote what he believed to be THE TRUTH.

After being released from his imprisonment at Ipswich, he says, he had "*very good and comfortable service*, in the work of the Gospel, in several places in the counties of Suffolk and Essex."

For a time after the change in the Government, persecution appeared suspended; and the meetings of Friends were less frequently disturbed; but the persecuting spirit remained: and notwithstanding the high profession which the *presbyterian* party had made, of supporting liberty of conscience, it was, through the whole period of their power, evident that their views of *liberty* were confined to their own party; and that, as George Whitehead expresses it, they would not allow liberty of conscience to any people but themselves.

Not many weeks after his release from prison, he attended a meeting at Ipswich, at the house of an honest friend, a ship-master; who with his wife had embraced the despised principles of the new Society.

A considerable number of sober neighbours attended on this occasion; and it is said to have been a good, peaceable meeting. But the enemies of the Friends in that town, envious of their little quiet, endeavoured to stir up persecution against the ship-master; and succeeded in inducing a jury to present him as *receiving*

into his house, countenancing, harbouring, and supporting, divers dissolute, idle, loose, and suspected persons, disturbers of the public peace, commonly called Quakers; and as also keeping disorder, evil rule and government in his house, to the great nuisance of his neighbours, &c.

George Whitehead and some of his friends published a paper, in which they endeavoured to show the falsehood and malignity of these charges; and George also addressed on the occasion, a letter of warning to "The Inhabitants of Ipswich, both Teachers and People."

SECTION VI.

Has many disputations in the years 1658 and 1659.—Account of one at Emneth on seventeen points—At Cambridge, with the keeper of the University Library—At Lynn, with the Mooreans or Universalists, on Christian perfection, Christ's body, &c.—A second with the same people, succeeded by a written controversy.

Notwithstanding the suffering and contempt which attended the Society at this period, its numbers increased materially during the protectorate of Richard Cromwell. In the years 1658 and 1659, there was some respite from open persecution; but the exertions of the Society's opponents to misrepresent it, did not cease; and many of the clergy inveighed severely against them from their pulpits. George Whitehead, in consequence, thought it right to request a public conference, with some of those who had preached against the principles which he was engaged in advocating; and several of the ministers accepting his challenge, public disputes were held on the leading points of difference. These meetings were numerously attended; but do not appear, from the particulars given of them by George Whitehead, to

have been generally satisfactory. He observes that when the priests found the Friend's arguments too heavy, they would avail themselves of their influence to raise a noise and clamour, to prevent the Truth from being heard. This was the case in a dispute which George Whitehead and two of his friends, Richard Hubberthorn and Samuel Neale, had with the minister at Sandwich, in Kent.

A subsequent dispute with the minister of Emneth, in Norfolk, appears to have been more satisfactory. The minister in accepting the challenge which George Whitehead sent to him, in consequence of his having preached against the society, judiciously wrote down seventeen questions, embracing all the topics of supposed difference of opinion; and requested his opponent to give a distinct answer to each of them, at the public dispute. This George accordingly did; and he states the questions and answers to be as follows:

"1. Whether Jesus Christ hath a body glorified in the heavens, distant and distinct from the bodies of his saints here below?

"*Answer.* Yea, as a glorified body is distinct from natural or earthy bodies, and heaven from the earth.

"2. Whether the blood that Jesus Christ shed at Jerusalem, is the blood that believers are

justified by? Or whether He dies in men for their justification?

"*Answer.* Sanctification, forgiveness of sins, cleansing from sin, and justification, are sometimes ascribed to the blood of Christ, and to the Spirit of our God and our Lord Jesus Christ, which effects, works, and manifests the same in all true believers.

"But here are two questions put for one; the first appears not a scriptural or proper question: where does the Scripture use those words, viz. the blood that Jesus Christ shed? Seeing it was by wicked hands He was put to death, and his blood shed upon the cross? Yet as the blood of Jesus Christ is put for, or represents his life which He laid down, and even the Offering and Sacrifice of Himself at Jerusalem; that was a a most acceptable Sacrifice, and of a sweet smelling savour to God for mankind, respecting his great dignity and obedience, who humbled Himself even to the death of the cross; and gave Himself a ransom for all men, for a testimony in due time: and his sacrifice, mediation, and intercession, hath opened a door of mercy for mankind to enter in at, through true repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, which are wrought in man, that obeys his call thereto, only by his grace and good spirit unto sanctification and justification,

in the Name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. God's great love toward mankind, was manifest in his dear Son Jesus Christ, and 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' *2 Cor.* v. 19.

"The latter question of the second is groundless and perverse: we know neither Scripture nor minister amongst us, that asserts Christ's dying in men for their justification, but that once He died, *i. e.* for our sins; and rose again for our justification; and that He ever lives to make intercession; and death has no more dominion over Him. Christ Jesus lives and reigns for ever, in the power and glory of the Father, although some are said to crucify to themselves the Lord of Life afresh, and to tread under foot the Son of God, which cannot be taken properly in a literal sense; but by their contempt of Truth, and doing despite to his Spirit of grace, as some malicious apostates have done; not to their justification but condemnation.

"What any of us, or among us, have spoken or written of the Seed or Word, which the Son of man, Jesus Christ, sows in men's hearts; and of the same being oppressed, or suffering in some, or as being choaked with worldly cares, and

the love of riches in others, &c. These, and many such like expressions may have been used, according to the parables and similitudes which Christ Jesus Himself spake, relating to the kingdom of heaven, the Word or Seed of life and grace, sown by Him in men's hearts; and likewise of grieving, vexing, and quenching his Spirit in them by their disobedience; and yet all these, never intend or mean, that Christ Himself properly dies in men for their justification, although his Spirit be both grieved and quenched in many; and many do lose the true sense of his Living Word in themselves, by suffering their soul's enemy to draw out their minds from that Seed, that Word, that Light, that Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ in them, which in itself, in its own being, never dies. The immortal Seed, the immortal Word, is of an immortal Being, though many be dead thereunto, in their trespasses and sins.

"3. Whether this individual body of ours shall be raised at the last day?

"*Answer*. This appears an unscriptural, as well as an unlearned and dubious question, if not antiscriptural: if he means this our natural, identical body of flesh, blood, and bones, the testimony of the apostle Paul may both answer and refute his question; the resurrection body being not natural but spiritual, not flesh and

blood, for they cannot inherit the kingdom of God. 1 *Cor.* xv.

"And how is this earthy body of ours individual, if it may be divided and parted into pieces, and small particles, or dissolved into dust, or in the earth, or in the sea, or in the fire into smoke or air. Nevertheless God giveth a body as it pleaseth Him, and to every seed his own body; yea, to every soul its own proper body.

"4. Whether any saints before death are sinless?

"*Answer.* Yea, those saints whom Christ sanctifies, and cleanseth from all sin; as He doth all true and constant saints.

"5. Whether the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be three distinct persons, or subsistences?

"*Answer.* We do not find them so termed (i. e. three distinct persons) in Holy Scripture, but rather Three Witnesses, or Three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and Holy Spirit, and these Three are One. 1 *John* v.

"6. Whether water-baptism be a Gospel ordinance?

"*Answer.* No, as it was John Baptist's ministration, it was typical, and rather legal, than a Gospel ordinance, though sometimes condescended unto in the Church's infancy.

"But if by water-baptism be meant sprinkling infants, that is no real baptism nor Gospel

ordinance, but rather rantism, and a tradition of the Romish Church, than any Gospel ordinance.

"7. Whether the Scriptures be the rule of your Faith, and life, or the Spirit?

"*Answer.* We do not find that the Scriptures call themselves the rule of faith and life, but refer us to the Holy Spirit to be our guide into all Truth, and they testifying of Christ, as He is the Way to the Father, even the Way, the Truth and the Life; we do therefore truly esteem the Holy Scriptures as a subordinate rule, or directory, directing us to Him who is the principal, or chief guide, way, or rule of faith and life; and we do sincerely own, that the Holy Scriptures contain many Divine rules, precepts, and doctrines, relating to our most holy faith and life.

"8. Whether children of darkness have the Light of Christ within them?

"*Answer.* They have some degree of Light from Christ in them, though it shines in darkness, as a Light shining in a dark place, otherwise they could not come, nor be translated out of darkness; they must believe in the Light, in order to become children of the Light, and therefore Christ exhorted; "believe in the Light, that ye may be children of the Light."

"9. Whether that act be sin in a saint, which is a sin in a wicked man?

"*Answer.* The act of sin, and every transgression of the law of Christ, is sin in fact, in whomsoever it is; but the saints, or sanctified in Christ, who dwell in Him, do not allow, or suffer sin to dwell in them, nor themselves to commit it; he that abides in Christ sinneth not.

"10. Whether there be any moral difference in days under the Gospel?

"*Answer.* No, not as under the law in the observation of sabbaths, which were a shadow or sign to Israel, and are ended in Christ, in whom is the faithful soul's everlasting rest or sabbath. Yet there is, and may be a religious or an occasional difference made in days under the Gospel, as where a day is, or may be regarded unto the Lord; especially in religious assemblies, and particularly as was, and is practised on the first day of the week among Christians.

"The apostle Paul was tender in this case, about one man's entertaining and regarding one day above another, and another man's esteeming every day alike, and about meats, so as not to judge one another; but let every man said he, be fully persuaded in his own mind, *Rom.* xiv. Yet condemns the Jewish, and superstitious observation of days, meats, and drinks, &c. *Gal.* iv. 10, 11.

"11. Whether it be a duty for Christians to

celebrate the Lord's Supper with bread and wine ?

"*Answer.* In this question he begs the question; imposing and taking for granted their bread and wine as ministered by the priest, to be the Lord's Supper, which I must deny until proved by Scripture. For that which was properly the Lord's Supper, was when He and his disciples eat the passover. *Luke* xxii. 15. There is no necessity now for Christians to celebrate that Supper; for that was both celebrated and fulfilled by Christ Himself. And the passover and outward bread and wine, or cup, were typical and shadows, fulfilled by Christ Jesus and in Him, unto his true spiritual believers and followers, who are spiritually partakers of Christ the Substance, being come to receive Him to sup with them, and they with Him. *Rev.* iii.

"12. Whether an outward mission, by imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer by men so ordained themselves to the work of the ministry, be according to Gospel order ?

"*Answer.* An outward mission by these, without an inward Divine call, is not sufficient to authorize any one to be Christ's minister, or ambassador; neither have they any Divine authority to commission ministers by their imposition of hands, fasting, or prayer, who themselves have no Divine call, nor authority

given them by Christ thereunto, but who rather conclude, that his immediate call, ministry, and prophecy are long since ceased.

"13. Whether the Scriptures be the ordinary means to beget faith in men's hearts?

"*Answer.* No, 1. Not without the help of the Holy Spirit and Light thereof, to give the true understanding of them. 2. Not the ordinary means to beget faith in men's hearts, in a limited or universal sense, as if none might believe without them; for God may make, and hath made use of other means than the Scriptures, as by preaching the Gospel in Spirit and power. 3. By his works in the creation. 4. Chiefly by the word of faith in men's hearts which is the efficient cause of begetting and working faith in them, being the faith of the operation of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the Author and Finisher of our faith. 5. Nevertheless the Holy Scriptures being opened and applied by the Spirit, are often made instrumental to beget faith in men's hearts.

"14. Whether the Scriptures need any interpretation and reconciliation?

"*Answer.* Yea, to the first part, many Scriptures are mysterious, allegorical, parabolical, and prophetical, and need to be interpreted and opened by the Spirit from whence they came; but not by man's human, or fleshly wisdom, or

private interpretation; for the natural man perceiveth not, nor can he know the things of the Spirit of God, they being spiritually discerned. Neither need the Holy Scriptures reconciliation in themselves; for they are harmonious and do agree, and the Scripture cannot be broken.

"15. Whether the Divine nature of Jesus Christ be united to the bodies of believers, as it was to his own personal body in Judea?

"*Answer.* No, although true believers, who are Christ's members, are spiritually united unto Him, and members of his body, and made partakers of his Divine Nature; yet not in the same Fulness as it is in Him, who is the Head, in whom it hath pleased the Father, that all Fulness should dwell.

"16. Whether the Pope of Rome be antichrist, and papacy antichristian?

"*Answer.* Yea, to both.

"17. Whether George Whitehead will take the oath of abjuration, and renounce the Pope?

"*Answer.* George Whitehead has not a renunciation, or denial of the Pope or popery now to make, having never owned either, but always utterly denied and disowned both; although he cannot swear to such renunciation, because for conscience sake he may not swear at all; either by that oath of abjuration, i. e. to re-

nounce the Pope, &c. or by any other oath, lest he should fall into condemnation." *Mat* v. *James* v. 11.

The answers to the questions here given by George Whitehead, were of course but the heads of his reply. Considerable discussion took place upon several of the points; but they had not time to go through the whole. The people were attentive and serious; and the meeting ended quietly and without any reflections upon the new Society.

In regard to the precise nature of Christ's body in heaven, George Whitehead would not be driven from Scripture expressions. He would not allow that the term *human* might be applied to it in its *glorified state*. If the bodies of the saints were to be changed or fashioned like unto His glorious body, it was inferable that some change* had taken place in Christ's body since his ascension, as He was when on earth, *in all respects like unto us, sin excepted.*†

Christ's body in heaven was certainly not human in such manner as to require the appendages of an earthly body, as food, clothing, &c. "*Humanus*," says George Whitehead, "relates to *Humus*, the *ground or earth*, out of

* Such a change is not incompatible with identity.

† *Heb.* iv. 15. ii. 16, 17.

which the first Adam was taken and formed, and therefore that term was thought too low to ascribe to the Second Adam or his glorious body, who is Lord from heaven ; not an earthly man but a Heavenly Man, morally and essentially. Howbeit could we have had Scripture proof to ascribe *human* to the Heavenly Man Christ Jesus in his glorified state, it had decided the question."

The priests generally endeavoured to conduct their dispute by the syllogistic method, thinking probably to confound their opponents, and mislead vulgar hearers by the display of scholastic knowledge. How little the use of arbitrary logical terms, are adapted to elicit truth, and how often they lead those who use them into absurd conclusions, is sufficiently evident from the reports of these disputations. The following account of a dispute at Cambridge may serve as a specimen. George Whitehead's antagonist was the keeper of the university library, with whom he had had a previous contest in the city of Westminster, at a meeting for worship which the librarian attended ; at which he thought proper to charge the friends with heresy.

" I and another Friend," says George Whitehead's narrative, " went to the mayor of Cambridge, to desire liberty for us to have our

meeting for the dispute at the guild-hall, suspecting Friends' meeting-house would not contain the people. The mayor being a moderate man, and his wife a friend of ours, after some consideration signified to us, that he durst not let us have the guild-hall, for fear the scholars should do some mischief; but he told us, that if we met at our own meeting-house, which was over against Sidney-College, he would send his officers to keep the peace; which accordingly he did.

"On the day of our meeting to dispute, came our learned antagonist, Thomas Smith, attended with a great company of scholars, of several degrees, bachelors, and masters of art, &c. He again resumed his old charge of heresy against us, having had time to study some new arguments for proof, and then proceeded with his logic and syllogisms; and I did not at all go about to prevent his essay that way, being willing to watch him, and see what work he would make of it; and thus he attempted it, viz.

He that is a Papist, is a heretick:
But you are Papists, (i. e. the Quakers.)
Ergo, You are hereticks.

"*George Whitehead.* I deny the minor, or second part of the argument, that is, I deny that we are Papists.

"*Priest.* He that refuses to take the oath of abjuration, is a Papist:

But you refuse to take the oath of abjuration,

Ergo, you are Papists.

"*George Whitehead.* I except against the major, or first part of the argument, and the consequence deduced therefrom, for the following reasons. Christ hath commanded us, not to swear at all, &c. *Mat.* v. 34, &c. And his apostle James likewise forbids all swearing, saying: 'Above all things my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven, neither by earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, lest you fall into condemnation.' *James* v. 12.

"Now suppose the apostle James were here present, to maintain this doctrine against all swearing, or taking any oath, he must refuse the oath of abjuration, because it is an oath; he must obey the doctrine of his Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. Then by this person's way of arguing against me and the Quakers, he would be charged with being a Papist and heretick. And thus the argument consequently unjustly charges, or reflects upon Christ and his holy apostles; to which the priest could make no reply, to clear himself from the absurdity and fallacy of his argument, and false charge.

"When he failed in his arguments, and was detected, some of the scholars that stood by,

would say to him, 'Take that off;' by which I understood they meant drop that argument, or let it fall, or evade it, and slide off to some other point, or argument, for so he did: and this I have found to be the shift and subterfuge of many adversaries, to evade a fair disquisition of the question, or point in hand; insomuch as I have often called out upon them, to keep to the point in hand, and not to evade, nor use shifting.

"This is a brief account of the discourse at that meeting.

"However, our dispute was managed in such moderation, that the meeting was continued pretty quiet to the end, the scholars being generally civil. And we being sensible the Truth gained ground at that meeting, came off very easy and comforted in our spirits.

"In Cambridge, I had, in those days, divers good meetings, and effectual service for the Truth; and they generally were peaceable, while I was concerned in them, the scholars being more civil towards me than we could expect; for many of them would stand to hear the Truth with great attention: and I often felt the Lord's Power over their spirits in our meetings; though some time after I left them, I heard that Friends met with disturbance, and some with hard usage from some of the scholars, which I was sorry to

hear; it being partly occasioned by some striving with them, not in the wisdom of God, whereby it appeared, that the evil spirit might be more easily raised and let loose than subdued or bound.

"Howbeit this I have observed, that when we have, in a meeting in that place, met with some opposition, if it was by any person of understanding, or learning, that would deport himself soberly, we could have some fair and quiet discourse, tending to information, and edification; and the scholars present would demean themselves with attention, as persons willing to receive instruction; but if a vain irreligious person came into a meeting to scoff, deride, or laugh at us, or show contempt against our Christian testimony, such an one would raise levity or laughter, in some or other of the loose scholars, to their hurt and shame.

"One time an old priest, who had been blind from his childhood, and some company with him, came into our meeting, and behaved themselves pretty civilly; the priest seemed to be a learned person, and would undertake to question me about the Trinity; as to my belief therein. I answered him in terms of Holy Scriptures, viz. That I really own, and believe the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are the Three which bear record in heaven; and these Three are One,

according to the doctrine of John the evangelist. 1 *John* v. 7.

"But this answer would not please the priest; and I would give him no other; I would not enter into a dispute about Three distinct Persons, which the priest would have drawn me into; I not being free in point of conscience to give other names or appellations to the One True God, than what are given in Holy Scripture, I did not esteem it safe to use unscriptural or metaphysical terms, on such a sacred point as that of the Deity, but to keep to plain Scripture terms and language."

The next controversy in which George Whitehead appears to have been engaged, was with a class of persons who had risen up under the name of Manifesterians, Universalists, or Free-willers; and who were called by some Mooreans, from one Thomas Moor, their chief minister. These people are said to have prevailed about Lynn, in Norfolk, and the neighbouring country; and many of them appear to have been serious inquirers after Truth. Several of these professors joined the Society of Friends, which excited a very hostile feeling on the part of their leaders, who took great pains to traduce the Society, both by words and writings. John Horn, one of the ministers of

this sect, who was the parish priest at Lynn, with Thomas Moor, junior, son of the *founder*, were particularly active in their opposition, styling the Quakers antichrists, hereticks, accursed, &c.

In consequence of these proceedings, George Whitehead and George Fox the younger, requested a public meeting with them; and they met in the parish church at Lynn, in the summer of 1659.

The topics of discussion were, *First*, "The possibility of a sinless state being attained in this life, by true believers in Christ.

"*Secondly*. Whether the Light wherewith Christ enlighteneth every man, be a Spiritual Light.

"*Thirdly*. As to the state of Christ's body in heaven."

These were the points, it is presumable, on which the Mooreans had rested their charge of heresy, &c. In regard to the two first points, the Friends of course maintained the affirmative.

They maintained, that Christ came "to destroy the works of the devil, and to restore and save man from sin and condemnation;" and that "the Grace of God, in and through Jesus Christ, was sufficient for the blessed attainment of perfect sanctification, perseverance in Grace, and abiding in Christ."

"To prove sin a natural inheritance in

believers, so long as they are here," their opponents quoted *Rom.* vii. 17. "It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me;" which, it was replied, did not prove that sin dwelt in the apostle all his life, much less that sin was his *necessary state* so long as he lived; "for he knew deliverance: he was made free from sin and condemnation, and more than conqueror through Christ that loved him."

The Mooreans allowed a perfection of sincerity towards God, and illustrated their views by the character of Asa king of Judah, of whom it was said, that "his heart was perfect with the Lord his God all his days;" 1 *Kings* xv. 14. although he appears to have been far from sinless, and persecuted the honest prophet who was sent to him by the Lord, to reprove him for his foolishness, and to tell him of the judgments which should attend him.

The Friends considered this illustration of their opponents argument, as showing the low views which they took of the standard of Christian sanctification or holiness, as if it were compatible with a state of mind in which we may "*do foolishly, commit sin, decline from the Lord, and not rely upon Him or seek to Him, in a day of distress or affliction.*" Such a view, they contended, was directly opposed to the Scripture declaration, in regard to the *state of the new*

birth, or of him who is born of God, and in whom his Seed remains. 1 *John* iii.

The discussion on the second point is reported in the following short paragraph.

"The Light wherewith Christ lighteth every man that cometh into the world, *John* i. 9, they would not confess to be spiritual, as immediately shining from Christ the Divine Word; but Thomas Moor said: 'It is both natural and spiritual;' though they never could make that out, of that one and the same Light spoken of, *John* i. 4. 9. It being the Life which was in the Word, which was, and is the Light of men, from the beginning, and which is therefore Divine and spiritual, and not man's natural reason; which in one sense they esteemed spiritual, as opposed to the natural body; but in another sense, natural as opposed to Divine Light, though the WORD be Divine."

In regard to the third head of dispute, George Whitehead says: "Because we owned Christ's body in His glorified state in heaven, to be a glorious, spiritual body, and the resurrection bodies of the saints to be not *carnal* but *spiritual*, they would insinuate against us, a denial of the body of Christ in heaven, and of the resurrection; whereupon we did not only confess the resurrection and ascension of Christ's body that was put to death, that his flesh saw no corrup-

tion, i. e. that it did not corrupt, but rose again a real body ; but we also turned some questions upon them concerning the body of Christ after He ascended, to know if they owned the same, to have been a spiritual, glorious body ; or in what sense they owned it."

Thomas Moor contended for its being of flesh and bones, but without blood ; and suggested that this was also the case with Adam's body in his paradisiacal state. George Whitehead contended generally, that, on the authority of Scripture, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God ; neither can corruption inherit incorruption." 1 *Cor.* xv. 50, &c.—that Christ's body was clearly declared to be *glorious*—and "that the bodies of the saints, in the resurrection, shall be like unto his *glorious body*—spiritual, *incorruptible*, equal to the angels—which equality is ascribed to the sons of God, and of the resurrection."

George Whitehead appears to have thought this description of the glorified body, to be inconsistent with the opinion of its retaining the character of flesh and bones ; but he would not presume to say what were its component parts ; and his opponents admitted, that they knew not what change or transformation took

place in the body of Christ, in its ascension and glory.

The observations which George Whitehead makes upon this part of the controversy are well worth attention, and prove that he was desirous of fully conforming his views on the subject, to the authority of Holy Scripture.

"It is not safe," he observes, "for men to be busy, and intruding into those matters and things not seen; for by such intrusion, questions and critical disputes arise about the manner of the resurrection, how and with what bodies, and in what form and manner they shall appear, &c. This is next to a denial or unbelief of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and tends to beget questions, doubtings, and unbelief thereof; and it is not safe for the weak in the faith to be received into doubtful disputations. There were some among the Corinthians, that said: 'There is no resurrection of the dead;' 1 *Cor.* xv. 12. whose foolishness the apostle reprehended, when they questioned: 'How are the dead raised up? And with what body do they come?' Whom he answered in these words: 'Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be,' &c. *ver.* 35—37.

"Now as to the resurrection according to Holy Scripture, we do not doubt or question, but sincerely believe it; and that if in this life we have a part in Christ, and experience Him to be the Resurrection and the Life unto us, we doubt not, but believe we shall have our own proper bodies, which shall be both spiritual and glorious, 'like unto His glorious body.' To every seed He will give a body as it pleaseth Him; and therefore if we should be so nice or curious, as to question God, or Christ, or his saints, or ministers, what manner of bodies, and of what essence or substance they shall be—or, how bright, glorious, and spiritual—this would bespeak a distrust, or unbelief of a future state of saints in glory, and of the Divine Power, as well as the appointment and promises of God and Christ, to bring them into such a state of glory. Certainly if the Lord own us for his children, and sons of God while in this life, though 'yet it appears not what we shall be; we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is,' 1 *John* iii. 1, 2. And our Lord Jesus Christ declared: 'This is the will of Him that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day.' *John* vi. 40.

44. . And 'Father, I will that they also whom Thou hast given Me, be where I am, that they may behold my glory, which Thou hast given Me,' &c. *John* xvii. 24. We may rest contented in the real faith and earnest given us, of these glorious promises and privileges, without being busy with unlearned questions or perverse disputings; or intruding into things not seen, or secret unrevealed things which belong to God. And if any should question what manner of change, or transmutation Christ's body had, after He arose from the dead, or in his ascension, or how it was changed, being seen to have flesh and bones, and no blood in it, as supposed, when He was risen from the dead, as these adversaries have uncertainly and dubiously suggested—I should conclude such busy intruders ought not to be gratified nor answered, but to be avoided.

"We may without doubt believe Christ's body wonderfully changed and glorified in his ascension, and that Enoch, *Heb.* xi. 5. who was translated that he should not see death, was changed; also the prophet Elijah, 2 *Kings* ii. 11. when he was taken up in a fiery chariot, and by a whirlwind went into heaven; whereby was typified Christ's ascension, he being an eminent type of Christ. We may without

offence, believe Elijah's body must be changed before he got into heaven, seeing 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God,' 1 *Cor.* xv. 50. and yet without offence conclude, that the body of Enoch, before He was translated, and the body of Elijah, were not without blood in them; or else they had no such change as to be made meet for that kingdom, which flesh and blood cannot inherit.

"The great Power and works of God in these transactions and matters, should rather be occasion of admiration than of disputation; as well as the resurrection by the Power of Christ, and sudden change of the living, even 'in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.' 1 *Cor.* xv. 51, 52.

"It is by the great and glorious Power of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Power and wisdom of God, that such a sudden and wonderful change must be effected, and the dead raised incorruptible. And it being 'appointed for men once to die, and after this the judgment;' and that there shall be 'a resurrection both of the just and unjust;' and that it shall go well with the righteous, but ill with the wicked; I have always believed it better to labour to be righteous in

this life, than to trouble our heads and imaginations about what, or how we shall be in the life to come, or what manner of bodies or clothing we shall have in heaven; and to trust the Lord therewith. Our chief care and concern should now be, to walk in the way to heaven, to get thither in the way of truth and righteousness and there we shall not want, but enjoy all things to complete our joy and felicity in heaven and eternal glory; even in the full fruition of that incorruptible inheritance which will never fade away, 'reserved in heaven for all them who are kept by the Power of God through faith unto salvation.' 1 *Pet.* i. 4, 5.

"Many persons, by vain imaginations and high thoughts, and intruding into things not seen [revealed] and matters too high for them, and their human wisdom and carnal reason, do thereby darken themselves, and cloud their understandings from the true sanctifying and saving knowledge of God, and mystery of Christ Jesus, and his Power and Spirit, who is mighty and powerful in Himself, and in his saints and members; who being spiritually united to Him, and thereby made members of his body, are one body in Him; so that there is one body and one Spirit. *Ephes.* iv. 4.

"There are other persons who in their singular

opinions, strange or new notions, exalt themselves in their own conceits above all others, and thereby cause contention, strife, and divisions, many times either about words, critical distinctions, or things not essential to salvation, or to the saving knowledge of the True God or his Son Jesus Christ; and thereby such endeavour to make divisions and parties to themselves.

"When a person fearing God, and loving our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and Truth, confesseth a real belief, faith, or hope, in terms of Holy Scripture, it is sufficient; whether it be of the suffering, death, resurrection, or ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ into heaven and glory; or of his body being spiritual and glorious in heaven. And as the saints, being spiritually united to Him, are his Church and body also, and esteemed mystical while here on earth; so their low or humble body shall be changed and fashioned like unto his glorious body. And I would advise all Friends to keep to the words, terms, language, and doctrine of Holy Scripture, and not to be wheedled or drawn from the same, nor suffer themselves to be imposed upon, either with unscriptural terms or unlearned questions, by any contentious or carping adversaries whatsoever: for foolish

and unlearned questions, as well as profane and vain babbling, must be avoided."

"'Without controversy, great is the mystery of Godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.' 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. Now this mystery of Godliness, being a great mystery without controversy, it is best for professors of Christianity to keep out of controversies and shun perverse disputes of men of corrupt minds, with all their unprofitable questions; and to turn in their minds to the Light of Christ, retire to the simplicity in Him, and watch therein to understand this great mystery of Godliness, both with respect to 'God manifest in the flesh, and justified in Spirit.' The manifestation and Power of Christ in the flesh, was excellent in Him; and therein by his most precious precepts and doctrine, his wonderful works and miracles, his blessed example and sufferings, he declared and showed forth the Holy design of Christianity. And to be truly sensible of his being justified in Spirit, is very precious, and arises from a true, spiritual, living knowledge and experience of Christ in Spirit, and as known after the Spirit, and not after the flesh, or any fleshly knowledge of Him; for as wisdom is justified,

commended, and praised of her children by the fruits thereof in them; so Christ is justified and exalted in Spirit, in his faithful followers, his holy generation and children.

"God and his great Power was wonderfully manifest in Christ in the days of his flesh; and He showed divers signal tokens and signs of his Power in those days; as in his wonderful miracles; laying down his life and taking it up again; in his transfiguration in the mount, so that his face did shine as the sun, &c. *Matt.* xvii. in his appearing in divers forms after He arose from the dead; *Mark* xvi. 12. and at sundry times showing Himself, and appearing in the midst of his disciples, the door being shut. *John* xx. 19. 26. And also when He sat at meat with them, and in such a familiar manner manifested Himself, that their eyes were opened that they knew Him, He vanished out of their sight. *Luke* xxiv. 30, 31. Such wonderful Power He showed after He was risen from the dead, to manifest Himself, and confirm his disciples in the faith, knowledge, and testimony of his resurrection, as well as in his ascension."

Not long after the dispute which we have been relating, George Whitehead had another

in the chancel of the parish church, with John Horn, the minister; and it appears that on both occasions a large number of persons attended, and behaved with civility. The discussions do not however appear to have increased the satisfaction of the parties with each other; and an angry printed controversy ensued in which the points debated between them were more fully treated on.

SECTION VII.

Disputations with a Presbyterian minister at Lynn, on the Scriptures, the resurrection of the body, the Trinity, &c.—with an Independent minister at Pulham, on the Light of Christ.—meets a minister in the steeple-house at Haddenham.—A meeting at Peterborough—goes to Oakham—Coggeshall—Bristol.

The opposition which the Friends and their cause met with at Lynn, so far from discouraging George Whitehead, stirred him up to be more frequent in his visits; that he might repel the misrepresentations which were cast upon the cause he espoused; and to prevent serious enquirers from being misled, by the calumnies of its opponents. He had considerable meetings with his friends and others at Lynn, and besides his public disputes with the parties just mentioned, he had three public meetings with a Presbyterian minister of the name of Falconer, at Lynn, in which they appear to have discussed the points in dispute between them, in a pretty amicable manner: I shall here only notice the first question that George Whitehead was called upon to answer, which was "whether there be Three Persons in the Godhead."

George Whitehead, though He would not

adopt the expression "Three distinct Persons" in the Deity, as being unscriptural, makes the following declaration.

"The Holy Scripture Trinity, or Three thereby meant, we never questioned, but believed; as also the unity of essence, that they are one substance, One Divine, Infinite Being; and also we question not, but sincerely believe the relative *properties* of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; according to Holy Scripture testimony, *Matt.* xxviii. 19. and that 'these Three are One.' 1 *John* v. 7."

George Whitehead adds the following note upon this subject: "I well remember in some conference which I had with Dr. Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, our friends Gilbert Latey and Dr. Thomas Lower present, the archbishop and I fell into some friendly discourse about the Trinity; as to their definition of a person; what a person is. I told the archbishop I had discoursed many, especially of the learned, about that point; and that upon the definition of a person, or what the word person means, I never could find them consistent, but contradictory to themselves, on their own article of faith; as when they thus define person, viz. an intelligent being; or individual substance, of a rational nature, as Thomas Aquinas, who has been quoted against us, saith: 'Persona est

naturæ rationalis individua substantia, quæ nec est pars alterius nec ab alio sustentatur,' i. e. 'A person is an individual substance of a rational nature, which is neither a part of another, nor upheld by another.' I mentioning this to the archbishop, told him withal, that to assert Three Persons in the Deity, seeing they are not Three Beings nor Three Substances, I confess I could never reconcile with their being Three distinct or separate Persons, and not Three Substances, but One Substance or Being; when a *person* is a rational substance by their own account. And moreover they deem it blasphemy, to hold the blessed Trinity to be three Substances or three Beings, for that were to make them three Gods. How then are they three distinct Persons, i. e. rational Substances? The use of these terms, as I told the archbishop, I could never reconcile; for if they be not three distinct Substances, they are not three distinct Persons. Unto which he ingenuously answered: 'It is safest or best to keep to Scripture words or terms, in expressing such weighty matters of faith concerning the Deity, and not to express them in metaphysical terms of philosophy, or the like, which are not in Holy Scripture.' And truly I was glad when I heard such an honest confession from him."

In the year 1654 George Whitehead believed it his religious duty to visit the city of Norwich and county of Norfolk; and, in the course of his journey, hearing of a noted preacher among the Independents, in the neighbourhood of Pulham, and that he was to preach at Diss, George Whitehead, accompanied by Robert Duncan, went to the place; and having heard all that the preacher had to deliver, George Whitehead called to him and said: "Thou art weighed and found too light," &c. It is not surprising, after this address, that George was speedily pushed out of the house; but getting on to a tomb, he preached to the people, pointing out "the barrenness and fruitlessness of the people under such ministers," &c. The people heard him quietly for a considerable time; yet on his concluding, some were for putting him into the stocks, but others prevented it; and he was permitted to proceed quietly on his journey.

George Whitehead appears to have reverted to his visit in the year 1654, in order to introduce some particulars of a public dispute with the same Independent minister, in the 8th month 1659, and which in point of time falls in this part of his narrative. From the account of this dispute I take the following extract.

"The first question propounded to Thomas

Benton, the preacher alluded to, to be discoursed on was: Whether every man in the world is enlightened with a spiritual Light, yea, or nay?

"His answer was, That he denied that every man is enlightened with a spiritual Light, but with a natural light, as the light of reason, creation light, or the like; yet he confessed that every man is enlightened by Christ as a Creator, but not as a Mediator.

"Herein his inconsistency was apparent; for, if every man be enlightened by Christ as Creator, then is every man enlightened with a spiritual, Divine Light; for as Christ is Creator, He is a Divine, spiritual Light, and the Fountain of Light; for God is a Spirit and Light also, in whom is no darkness at all.

"But to render the Light of the Creator natural or natural reason, and the Light of Christ spiritual, is not only to divide the Light, which is one, but to set the Light of the Mediator, above the Light of the Creator.

"John the evangelist testified of Christ the Word: 'That was with God, and was God; that He was the True Light, which enlightens every man coming into the world; and that in Him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men.' *John* i. 4. 9. This Life of the Eternal Word, is above any natural light or natural reason, for it is a Divine Principle of Life and Light.

"And 'God who commanded Light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts;' for what end? but 'to give us the Light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ!' 2 *Cor.* iv. Therefore before we have that knowledge or degree of Light given, God shines in our hearts to give it unto us: and still it is the Light and glory of one and the same God and Christ Jesus, gradually revealed and made known in us.

"And likewise what power, glory, Spirit, life, light, and wisdom, the Son hath to give or impart unto men, especially unto true believers, his followers, it is all first given to Him of the Father. He 'received gifts for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them.' *Psalm* lxviii. 18. Of whom did He receive them but of his Heavenly Father?

"As our Heavenly Father and his dear Son are not divided, no more is their Light; it is one individual Light and Life; the Fulness whereof dwells in Christ the Son of the Living God, in whom 'it pleased the Father, that all Fulness should dwell;' *Col.* i. 19. and 'to give all power in heaven and earth unto Him;' *Mat.* xxviii. 18. although 'unto every one of us is given Grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ.' *Eph.* iv. 7. He who received the Spirit not by measure, but in immensity or immense Fulness,

gives to us by measure, and the knowledge thereof gradually, if we be sincerely obedient to his gift.

" The said Thomas Benton also affirmed, that if those gentiles mentioned, *Rom.* ii. 14. had improved that Light to the utmost which they had, it had not been sufficient for them unto salvation.

" This still is relative to his mistaken notion, that they had only a light from God the Creator, but not from Christ the Mediator, which appears contrary to the text, *Rom.* ii. 13, 14, 15. For both Jews and gentiles, were all to be judged, even the secrets of men without exception, by Jesus Christ, according to the Gospel. *ver.* 16. But if they should be judged and condemned, either because they had not a sufficient light given them of God to save them, or no Gospel Light by Jesus Christ to improve unto salvation ; this were to render God and Christ both unmerciful and unjust Judges. What ! judge and condemn men for not improving, or not obeying a Light, Law, or Gospel, they never had, nor might have, if not given unto them ! Or when they made the best improvement they could of that Light given unto them ; yet for all this, to fall short of salvation, and consequently to be judged unto condemnation. Oh ! unmerciful and cruel, and contrary to common

justice among men; and surely such doctrine cannot be according to the Gospel of the Free Grace of God in Christ Jesus; but rather agreeable to the partial, narrow notion of Predestinarians, and such as would by their doctrine limit and confine the Grace and love of God, only to a small select number of mankind!

"Such partial opinion is manifestly repugnant to the free and universal love of God; with whose great love his dear Son Jesus Christ was so fully replenished, that He was well called the Son of his love; which He hath so freely and universally extended unto the world, according to the good will of his Heavenly Father, in all the good He hath done and given to the children of men; and therefore the love of Christ testified of in Holy Scripture, is truly the love of God in Him to us all.

"And if God 'spared not his own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; how shall He not with Him also, freely give us all things!' *Rom.* viii. 32.

"Jesus Christ showed his own and Heavenly Father's great love to all men, as He is the Light of the world, and given for a Light unto the gentiles, and to be God's Salvation to the ends of the earth; and also in His dying for all men; by the Grace of God tasting death for every man; giving Himself a ransom for all

men, and in making intercession both for transgressors and for the saints : also, according to the will of God, He appears in the Presence of God for us, even in heaven itself ; and also by his Holy Spirit in all true believers : His Spirit maketh intercession, helpeth our infirmities, moves and assists us in prayer. They who are sons of God, are sensible that 'He hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into their hearts, crying, Abba, Father !' *Gal.* iv. 6.

" The humility, mercy, and condescension of Jesus Christ, our Blessed Mediator, are such, that He is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, weaknesses, and temptations, and ready to succour, help, and relieve all them that are tempted, even by his Grace and good Spirit, in their drawing near to the Throne of his Mercy and Grace.

" O faithful Creator ! O King of Saints ! O merciful High Priest ! O compassionate Mediator ! let thy Light and thy Truth shine forth more and more, to the glory of thy great and excellent Name and Power, and expel the great darkness of apostacy, that has covered many nations and professions of Christianity, and greatly appeared in these latter times against thy Light, thy Truth, and people, whom Thou hast called and delivered out of darkness, into thy marvellous Light. Glory and dominion be

to thy great Name and Power, for ever and ever!

"To return to the matter in controversy: my opposer Thomas Benton affirmed, that it was a corrupt nature by which those gentiles, mentioned *Rom.* ii. 14. did those things contained in the Law, which he confessed was the Moral Law or Ten Commandments.

"Herein the man was as far out as in the rest of his mistakes: for who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Do men gather grapes of thorns? Or can an evil tree bring forth good fruit? No surely! no more could those gentiles by a corrupt, unsanctified nature, do those things contained in the righteous Law of God; which requires sincere and entire love to Him, and true love to our neighbours as to ourselves.

"Other errors were at that dispute committed by the said Thomas Benton, as, that those mentioned, *Rom.* i. 20. saw the invisible things of God by a natural light; and that natural men might clearly see the Eternal Power of God as a Creator, but not Christ as a Mediator.

"Herein his mistake is notorious; for the invisible things of God there mentioned, are his Eternal Power and Deity or Godhead; and they who understood and saw them from the creation, were of those gentiles who knew God, and yet liked not to retain Him in their knowledge; but

became vain in their imaginations, whereby their foolish hearts became darkened; and so they became miserable apostates: howbeit, the sight and knowledge they sometimes had of God and his Eternal Power, was not by a natural light or knowledge; but by a spiritual Divine Light given them of God; and their knowledge they had of God, and their understanding and sight of his invisible things, originally sprang from a Divine Principle in them; seeing that which might be known of God, was manifest in them; for it was God that showed the same unto them. *Rom.* i. Insomuch that they themselves were without excuse, in their declension from the same: for it is plain, that 'the natural man, neither receiveth, nor can know the things of the Spirit of God, they being spiritually discerned.' 1 *Cor.* ii. 14.

"Men must be changed; they must be renewed in the spirit of their minds, in some measure, before they can clearly see or know the invisible things of God, or of his Spirit; for it is not by the spirit of this world, nor by the wisdom thereof, nor yet by any merely natural light, that those things of God, are made known unto us, but by the Spirit which is of God. 1 *Cor.* ii. This Spirit being obeyed, we follow God's teachings and drawings, and shall not fall short of the knowledge of Christ our Mediator, nor

be deprived of the great benefit or fruit of his mediation ; who said, that, every man that hath heard and learned of the Father, cometh unto Me. *John* vi. 45. And Christ Jesus the Son of God, being the Way to the Father, no man cometh unto the Father but by Him."

The dispute ended peaceably ; and there was subsequently a considerable addition to the Society in those parts.

The next public dispute in which George Whitehead was engaged, was with a minister of Bluntisham and Earith, in Huntingdonshire; but the meeting was held at Haddenham, in the Isle of Ely, in Cambridgeshire. It appears to have been chiefly on one side, the minister occupying most of the time in reviling the Quakers, without allowing his antagonist to reply. The people repeatedly called out to their pastor to allow George to be heard, and the priest at length leaving the assembly, George Whitehead says : "I had a very good opportunity to declare and demonstrate the Truth, and preach the Gospel to the people; and when I had thereby cleared my conscience, I gave them public notice of a meeting I intended, if the Lord pleased, to have the next day at the same town. So we all went *peaceably* out of their steeple-house ; and the next day, according to appointment, we had

a very good and serviceable meeting, to which divers men of account came."

The narrative of George Whitehead proceeds as follows:—

"After I had travelled and laboured some time in the work of the Gospel, in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, and some parts of Lincolnshire, as that called Holland, &c. as also in some parts of Northamptonshire, I was much pressed in spirit, to endeavour for a meeting in the city of Peterborough, though I heard of no Friends there to receive me, or our Friends; but upon enquiry, a sober honest minded man, of reputation and quality, was willing to have a meeting at his house, which accordingly was appointed to be on a First-day of the week, in the first or second month, in the year 1660. And many Friends from divers parts adjacent, resorted to it, out of the Fens, and some out of Rutlandshire, &c.

"In the week before the meeting, I had a great weight and sense upon my spirit, that we should have some trial and exercise, by suffering at that meeting, being sensible of the great darkness and wickedness that were in that city, though but a little one; and so it came to pass, for when our Friends began to meet in the house, the mob and rude people gathered about it and in the yard, in such a rude and turbulent manner,

as if they were minded to pull down the house; whereupon we thought it best to remove the meeting into the court yard adjoining, being unwilling the honest man's house should any ways be damaged by that rude crew: and I was resigned in the will of the Lord, rather to be given into their hands, than that the family where we met, should suffer on account of the meeting being there.

"After we were removed into the yard, I was moved to stand up, and in the Name of the Lord, to preach the Truth for near an hour; and the Lord stood by me and strengthened me, so as I was enabled livingly to declare the Truth, with a free resignation also to suffer what violence or evil He should permit the wicked to do, or inflict upon me; for I had often before that time resigned life and liberty for the Gospel's sake.

"While I was declaring the Truth, a man who they said was an Inn-keeper, with a rude company after him rushing violently and furiously, came in aiming chiefly to pull me down. The meeting being somewhat crowded, he could not readily get at me; in the mean time, others of them threw dirt at me, whereby my head and face were greatly daubed, yet I went on declaring the Truth. The furious man still striving to come at me, took up a stool by

the feet, and heaving it up to strike such as were in his way, a Friend standing by, caught hold of it as he was making his blow, to prevent the same; yet notwithstanding he gave an ancient woman, a friend of ours, a blow with the edge of it on the side of her head, which made such a wound on her temple, near her eye, that it was thought, if his blow had fallen directly on her head, it might have beaten out her brains; but the Lord providentially prevented that.

"Still the man's fury and rage seemed to be chiefly against me, and his struggle to get at me; so that rather then he should do more mischief, I desired the meeting might make way, that he might come to me; for I was really above the fear of any hurt, he or they could do to me. Then he and his company came, and violently pulled me down; and when I was in their hands, I felt much ease in my spirit, being sensible the Lord was secretly pleading my cause with them, so that their fury was immediately abated, and their spirits down; insomuch that they were restrained from doing me harm; only they haled me out of the meeting, through part of their cathedral church, so termed, there being a passage open; and then they quickly let me go.

"There were some soldiers, as it was said of Lambert's, or the old army, then quartered in

Peterborough who were spectators, and beheld how I and others were treated and abused, at the said meeting: and some of them took compassion, and had us to one of their quarters; where I washed the dirt off my face.

"Some Friends with me, were then directed into an upper room in the inn, where we sat together, waiting upon the Lord for some time, I think near two hours; and the Lord comforted and refreshed our spirits; and He put it into my heart to return again to the same house, from whence I had been haled away out of the meeting; and several sober people were there gathered together, in the afternoon, and I had a good meeting and service for the Lord, in bearing testimony for his blessed Truth among them; and we held the meeting quietly, and parted peaceably.

"After the meeting was over, I left Peterborough, and some Friends rode with me, and I went away thence much comforted, and refreshed in the Lord my God; having felt his living Power and Presence with me and my friends, to our preservation, and deliverance out of the hands of unreasonable men; though they had shown their fury and madness against us that day, but were not suffered to do us much harm; except the aforesaid ancient woman Friend's being wounded, as before related.

The same evening, we rode a few miles to an honest Friend's house, I think his name was John Mason, who had left the army, received the Truth, and become a serviceable Friend.

SECTION VIII.

Restoration of the Monarchy—King Charles's declaration for liberty of conscience.—Remarks on his sincerity.—Fifth-monarchy-men.—Proclamation against conventicles, and consequent renewal of persecution.—G. Whitehead's imprisonment with others in Norwich castle; released by the king's proclamation.—Henry Kettle, formerly mayor of Thetford.—Act of Parliament respecting Friends' refusal to take any oath.—The endeavours of Friends to prevent the bill passing the House of Commons.

George Whitehead begins the second part of his "Christian Progress" with devout and grateful acknowledgments of the Lord's power, goodness, and special Providence, evinced in his preservation and deliverance from the will of his enemies, who sought his destruction; and in having strengthened him to perform the work in which he was engaged; so that he says, his spirit was preserved in faith and patience, to obey and serve God with sincere resolution, in the work of the Gospel. "Let my soul forever bless and praise the worthy Name and Power of the Lord my God!"

In the year 1660 the government of the Commonwealth, under which the Society had

endured so much persecution, came to an end; and preparations were made for the return of king Charles the second.* The Declaration of liberty to tender consciences, which the king had made from Breda, and which having been presented to the house of peers, was ordered to be published, had doubtless a considerable effect in preparing the minds of some of those who had been in favour of the Commonwealth for the king's return. The following extract is made from this Declaration, which is equally remarkable for the fairness of its promise, and the faithlessness of its execution.

* The following sketch of the state of the nation at this time, as given by *Rapin*, may not be uninteresting to some readers.

"At the arrival of the king the face of England was entirely changed, and joy, pleasures, public and private rejoicings, succeeded to trouble and consternation. The people were so tired of the life they had led for twenty years past, that they did not believe it possible to be in a worse state. Every one rejoiced to see at least a calm after so long a storm, and expected to enjoy a tranquility sought in vain for so many years. The Royalists and Episcopalians were at once raised to the height of their wishes, in beholding Charles II. on the throne of his ancestors; and the Church of England about to resume her former lustre. The Presbyterians flattered themselves, that their late services for the king, would at least procure them an entire liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion. The Republicans, Independents, and Anabaptists, could not indeed hope to be restored to the state they had enjoyed so many years, but expected at least an entire impunity, agreeably to the Breda declaration." *Editor.*

"And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times, have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter be united in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood—We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence."

Whether the king or his advisers were sincere in the professions which were made at this juncture, cannot perhaps be absolutely determined: George Whitehead is inclined to think, that the king was not himself disposed to persecution. It is observable, however, that when it was proposed in Parliament, that the substance of the king's declaration in regard to religious liberty should be embodied in an act, the secretary of state rose and opposed it; and it was in consequence lost. It was not perhaps unnatural to infer from hence, the king's indisposition to the measure of toleration; but when his love of ease and pleasure is taken into

account, and the general disinclination of most influential persons of all parties to the granting of general liberty of conscience; we can hardly infer the king's real sentiment from the conduct of his government. If even, as a matter of taste and general feeling, he would have preferred seeing all his subjects worship as they please; as a matter of principle, enervated as his mind must have been by profligate habits, and imbued with popish principles, it is not to be supposed that he would rightly estimate the claims of tender consciences, or have energy to execute what he even desired. If the Episcopalians were now indisposed to toleration, the king would not have forgotten how, when he was in the hands of the Scotch, the latter had made him confess the *sinfulness of toleration in general*; and that just before his restoration, they had sent over a deputation to Holland, to remind him that the kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the Presbyterian establishment, *without indulgence to sectaries*. He knew also, with how little toleration to others the Independents had exercised their authority; and that there was not any considerable party, whose favour he would obtain by supporting his declaration from Breda. The just principles which the declaration contained, would appear to many, at that time, as

dangerous, and perhaps to most as theoretical: so that any abuse of liberty, or ebullition of enthusiastic feeling, would be likely to furnish the alarmists with an argument sufficient to excite popular fears; and thus to give again the reins of government, in ecclesiastical matters, to those who were disposed to drive all, by pains and penalties, into an external uniformity in matters of worship.

Such an occurrence was not long wanting: a few months after the king had ascended the throne, arose the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men, a set of persons about thirty-five in number; who, imagining that the one-thousand years' reign of Christ, spoken of *Rev.* xx. was just commencing, ran about the streets of London *well armed*, determined to put down the reign of king Charles; and, applying those words of Scripture to themselves, that "one should chase a thousand," they made their attempt with a degree of fury and violence proportioned to their confidence.

There was not the smallest ground for connecting this mad insurrection with any considerable religious party; and certainly least of all with the poor Quakers, who had suffered so much during the interregnum, and had steadily supported their Christian principle against ALL FIGHTING. Nevertheless, in those evil days,

it proved sufficient to excite against dissenters generally, that undistinguishing feeling which is common to weak and ignorant minds; and it gave the court, now under Episcopalian influence, a sufficient pretext for reviving persecution, by the issuing of a proclamation, PROHIBITING all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles, under pretence of religious worship, &c.

The proclamation states: "That some evil effects have already ensued, to the disturbance of the public peace, by insurrection and murder, by reason of the meetings of Anabaptists, and Quakers, and Fifth-monarchy-men, and such like appellation, &c.

"And to the intent that none of these persons, who have presumed to make so ill an use of our indulgence, may be strengthened in such their proceedings, &c.

"No meeting whatsoever of the persons aforesaid, under pretence of worshiping God, shall at any time hereafter be permitted and allowed; unless it be in some parochial church or chapel in this realm, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting; and that all meetings and assemblies whatsoever, in order to any spiritual worship and serving of God, by the persons aforesaid, unless in the places aforesaid, shall be esteemed, and are hereby

declared to be unlawful assemblies, and shall be prosecuted accordingly: and the persons therein assembled, shall be proceeded against, as riotously and unlawfully assembled, &c.

"And we do will and command our justices, that they cause the oath of allegiance to be tendered to every person, so brought before them, &c."

"Hereupon," says the narrative, "the most irreligious and profane sort of people were animated, and took occasion against our religious and peaceable meetings, eagerly to endeavour to suppress them; being encouraged by the new justices and magistrates, then got into commission. The vile and profane, and most wicked of all sorts, being lifted up and exalted in their spirits, upon the restoration of the king and his accession to the crown, were then triumphant and insulting against all religious dissenters; and especially threatening the Quakers, and their meetings with ruin, &c.* And

* Whatever might have been the vices of the Commonwealth, certain it is that the restoration of monarchy opened the very floodgates of vice.

"With the restoration of the king," says Burnet, "a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought in with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the cover of drinking the king's health,

seeing what a great flood of wickedness and debauchery was broken forth, and religion and virtue despised, we then expected no other but

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there were great disorders and much riot every where." And speaking of the first session of Parliament after the king's return, he says: "It was a mad, roaring time, full of extravagance: and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk."

Edward Burrough at this time published a work, dedicated to all rulers in the Christian world; in which, "with sound arguments," says Sewell, "he manifested the unlawfulness and injustice of persecution—from whence it had its rise—and how dangerous it was to impose religion."

George Fox the younger, who was then a prisoner, addressed a very plain and forcible expostulation to the king, on account of the vices which prevailed under his sanction, and the disposition which he thought he saw to restore popery. The following passages will show the innocent courage of the writer, in these arbitrary days; "The King of kings hath beheld! yea, the King of kings hath seen even all thy actings in the dark; and He hath traced thy walking in obscure places; and thou hast not hid thy counsels from the Almighty; but He hath seen all the intents of thy heart, and thy good words have not at all deceived Him, nor those that purely stood in his counsel."

"Thou hast highly displeased the Lord God, by thy suffering persecution to be acted in thy name, even whilst thou in words hast promised liberty; yea, many are this day in holes and prisons, for the testimony of a good conscience, and obeying the doctrine of Christ. Oh! the Lord is grieved with the pride and wickedness that is lived in, both in thy family and dominions; and thou thyself hast not been such a pattern and example amongst them as thou oughtest to have been. Oh, friend! when I beheld the wickedness, cruelty, and oppression, that abound in this nation in open view, and also the secret abominations which are committed, and are plotting and lurking in the

severe and hard treatment from our persecutors, whose hearts were set in them to endeavour our ruin, or to root us out of the land: dark clouds then appearing, and threatening a great storm.

"Insomuch that at a certain time, when I was travelling alone on the high-way, and in earnest supplication to the Lord, and spreading our case and my complaint before Him, in deep humility and contrition of spirit, I said in my

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chambers; verily, my life is even bowed down because of the fierce wrath of the Almighty which I see is kindled, and because of the great destruction which I see attends the wicked; whose ends and counsels the Lord will frustrate, and upon whom He will pour out everlasting contempt. Yea, and it hath been oft in me, before thou camest last into the land and also since, even when it hath been shown me what idolatry is intended in secret to be brought in; that certainly it had been better for thee that thou hadst never come; for I have seen it tending to thy destruction. And when I have seen the abomination and cruelties which are committed and intended, there hath a pity arose in me towards thee for thy soul's sake; and it hath been my desire, if it might stand with the will of God, that He would put it into thy heart to go out of the land again, that so thy life might be preserved, and that thou mightest have time to repent: for although many men flatter and applaud thee for self ends, yet the Lord is displeased with thy ways. Let no man deceive thee by feigned words. God will not be mocked: such as thou sowest, such must thou reap. Thou canst not hide thyself from the Lord; nor deliver thyself from the stroke of his hand."

The king is said to have read this faithful warning with attention. The duke of York, who also read it, was very indignant, and urged the king to punish the writer; to which he replied good naturedly: "*It were better for us to mend our lives.*"—*Sewell's Hist. p.* 471—480. 8*vo. edit.* *Editor.*

heart and in expressions: 'O Lord! this wicked persecuting spirit, that is got up and let loose, will seek to lay waste, and root thy heritage and people out of the land: Oh! Lord, plead our cause; plead the cause of Thy people, Thy seed and heritage.' Whereupon the Lord gave me this answer, viz.

"'The wicked shall not have their evil designs accomplished, against my people; I will frustrate their wicked purposes; they shall not root my heritage out of the land, though they be suffered for a time to persecute and try my people; I will stand by and defend, and in due time deliver them, &c.' Yea, and to this purpose, and much more of the same tendency, has the Lord often livingly signified and revealed to me, by his Holy Spirit, even in times of deep suffering and trials; that under them, or any of them, I might not faint nor be discouraged; but still believe to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, where praises ever live to Him.

"After the aforesaid insurrection, and the said proclamation was issued out; then persecution, outrage, and violence, quickly broke out in the land; then the roaring, raging, busy persecutors bestirred themselves, to hunt up and down after religious meetings, assemblies, and congregations, which they unjustly termed seditious conventicles, to break up and disperse

them, and cause many to be imprisoned and confined in nasty jails; where great numbers of innocent persons then suffered, in most counties of England and Wales, especially of the people called Quakers; whose meetings were most apparent and open, and most easily come at.

"Our Friends were not wanting to plead and make known their innocent cause, to the king and government, both by word and writing;* and to show how clear their religious meetings were, from any sedition, plots, conspiracies, or contriving of insurrections against the government or nation; and consequently no such meetings as are by law deemed conventicles, unlawful, or riotous meetings. So that those persecutions and punishments, inflicted upon us because of other men's crimes, appeared to be

* There was, at this time, about one thousand five hundred Friends in prison; and Neal, in his history of the Puritans, says, that on the quakers representing to the king their peaceable and harmless character, "he promised them, *on the word of a king*, that they should not suffer for their opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his word was little regarded."

Burnet's character of him was but too often illustrated by his conduct to the suffering Friends; though it must be allowed he did, in some instances, render them services. "He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises, in which he was liberal to excess; because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunities, and to silence all further pressing upon him." *Editor.*

no small perversion of justice, as well as injury done to many hundreds of honest industrious families; whose innocent cause the Lord in his own time pleaded in those days; and since hath not been wanting to stand by, and help his faithful people in their times of need."

In these days of persecution George Whitehead bore his share of suffering. He gives the following account of his commitment to Norwich castle, with three other Friends, viz. John and Joseph Lawrence and William Barber. "With many more of our Friends, being peaceably met together for the worship and service of God, at a meeting at Pulham-Mary, Norfolk, while we were calling upon the Lord in prayer, one in the place of a chief constable, with a company of horsemen and footmen, without warrant from any justice, came with halberts, pistols, swords, pitchforks, clubs, and hedge-stakes, and haled us and others of our Friends out of the said meeting; and the next day we were carried on horseback several miles, and had before one Thomas Talbot, justice of peace, near Wymondham, who committed us to prison upon information which the constable gave him in writing, touching the said meeting; wherein we were falsely accused of being unlawfully met together.

There appeared none to prove the charge against us; nevertheless we were next day sent to Norwich castle.

"Persecution being then generally stirred up against our Friends throughout the nation, most prisons were filled with them, because of their religious meetings. Many of them were committed to Norwich castle; and their meetings disturbed, and broken up, from one end of the county to the other, and likewise in the city of Norwich; insomuch that about thirty were then crowded in that old nasty jail. And there being a hole in a corner of the castle wall, called the vice, we, the four Friends before mentioned, betook ourselves to it, to lodge in; though a poor, narrow hole, without any chimney in it; yet there we got up two little beds, and lodged two in each. Having an old decayed stone arch over it, the rain came so much in upon us, that we could not well keep it off our beds, though we set dishes or basons to keep off what we could. In the cold of winter we burnt a little charcoal in evenings, which we found somewhat injurious and suffocating, having no vent for the smoke or steam; and in the day time, we endeavoured often to keep ourselves warm, by walking upon the castle hill, and under the wall, being within the liberty of the prison; and though it was a

cold bleak place in winter, we were glad that we had that benefit of the air.

"Yet we chose this hole in the wall for our lodging, partly for the ease of our other Friends, who were too much crowded in a better room below. We had many good and comfortable meetings together, without disturbance; several friendly persons being let into prison to meet with us, on first-days especially; insomuch, that at that time the prison became a sanctuary to us; as prisons and jails were to many of our poor innocent suffering Friends, when persecution was hot and persecutors raging and roaring abroad; and we praying, and praising the Lord our God, in prisons, jails, and holes.

"Our said Friends, William Barber and John Lawrence, having been men of note, and captains in the Commonwealth's day, it appeared in them great self denial and subjection to the cross of Christ, patiently so to suffer for his Name and Truth's sake.

"In the time of that imprisonment in Norwich castle, near the latter end of winter, or about the beginning of the first month, 1661, I was taken sick of an ague and fever; which brought me so low and weak, that some Friends who came to visit me were ready to take their

of Christ, exhorted: 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation.' *James* v. 12. From whence I inferred, if we may not swear by any other oath, then not by the oath of allegiance. Therefore I cannot swear at all, nor take any oath; either that of allegiance or any other. The judges did not dispute the point; but seeing that I and the rest of our Friends, then prisoners, were all of a mind in that case, that we all refused to swear, choosing rather to suffer for conscience, we were remanded to the prison in Thetford.

"Before the assizes were ended, some of us were again called into court; and an indictment read against me, and some others of us, stuffed with false and bitter accusations and invectives, because we refused to take the oath of allegiance; that being the snare then generally laid against us; for which we were accused and charged with wilfulness, obstinacy, and contempt against the king, his crown and dignity, and such like undue and injurious charges. Being required to plead guilty or not guilty, I began to distinguish upon the indictment, that something of it was true, that we refused to take the said oath, but it was not out of any

contempt and obstinacy against the king or government, but innocently for conscience' sake, in obedience to Christ's command. Judge Windham urging us to plead guilty, or not guilty, thereby to prevent me from further speaking, to open our case or plead our innocency, I waved pleading in those terms; unless he would suffer me to plead specially, with distinction, on the several parts of the charge, in order to manifest the inconsistency thereof, and our clearness and innocence who were the sufferers. The said judge then grew offended, because I was not willing to be confined only to plead guilty or not guilty; and he was for having me taken away and remanded to prison; whereupon I returned him this answer: that Paul, when a prisoner, was permitted to plead and speak for himself before king Agrippa, *Acts* xxvi. and before the Roman or heathen magistrates and rulers. It is therefore a hard case we may not be suffered to be heard, or plead for ourselves before you, who profess yourselves to be Christian magistrates. Whereupon the judge appeared angry; and I was quickly removed out of the court. 'Take him away gaoler,' was such a knocking argument in those days, that it must not be disputed: yet judge Hale behaved himself more mildly and gently toward us.

"It was observed, that when several of us the prisoners were called into court together, some of the country justices on the bench would be accusing us to judge Windham, to incense him against us, and especially against John Hubbard, sen. of Stoke-Ferry in Norfolk, and others, for receiving and entertaining the Quakers and their preachers at their houses. Whereupon John Hubbard, seeing the envy of those persecutors and accusers, who would make him an offender for entertaining stangers as the apostle taught, *Heb.* xiii. 2, was stirred up in zeal to answer his accuser, and plead a good conscience toward God and man, as being known to be an honest man, fearing God, &c. which he testifying in a good life, with zeal and courage, gave a check and put some stop to his accuser at that time, from proceeding in his accusations against the innocent prisoners. But it was no strange thing in those days, for a sort of ill natured persecuting justices, to be both accusers and judges upon the bench, against our Friends; and also, like invidious informers, to endeavour to incense the judges against us, by unjust insinuations and undue accusations; with intent to stir up prejudice and hard usage against us, and often to prejudge us and our case, before judicially heard or tried.

"Although in the time of the said assizes at Thetford, the persecuting spirit was eagerly at work in our adversaries, I daily felt the Lord's Power over all; whereby I and my fellow-prisoners were supported, strengthened, and preserved in innocency and great peace, to the praise of our most gracious God. And although I could expect no other, but our persecutors would be suffered to strengthen and prolong our bonds, at least against some of us, whom they designed to make terrifying examples; yet I was not at all discouraged, nor dejected in spirit, under that persecution; but returned cheerfully to prison, to Norwich castle, and was better every way as to my health and strength, than when I came out from thence, to go to the assizes at Thetford.

"This was and is to me a memorable token of the merciful Providence of God; that although I had been very weak and sick in prison in the said castle but a few days before, and rode to Thetford assizes in a weak condition; yet while I was attending upon the assizes, I was so much recovered in my health, that my ague and fever were quite removed, and I had not the return of one fit all the time of that imprisonment; but was restored to perfect health, which continued for several years after.

"Six of us, to whom the oath was tendered, and that were indicted, were, with some others, remanded prisoners to the said castle, and continued prisoners about sixteen weeks. The rest were released; being mostly labouring men, farmers, and tradesmen; our persecutors having picked out such whom they sent back to prison, as they esteemed to be the most eminent among the Quakers; as the said John Lawrence, Joseph Lawrence, William Barber, Henry Kettle, sen. and jun. John Hubbard, and several others, because of their love and kindness to their Friends, and entertaining meetings at their houses.

"Our release was obtained by the king's proclamation of grace, as it was termed; wherein, notwithstanding his grace or favour thereby expressed towards the Quakers, &c. it was not without a menace or threat, i. e. not intending their impunity if they should offend in the future, in like manner as they had done, &c. which was chiefly by their religious meetings, intended only for the worship of the living God, according to their consciences and persuasions; and for this cause our impunity was not intended, as afterward in a short time it more fully appeared.

"One thing, by the way, I may not omit

some account of. When we were together in Thetford prison, in order to appear at the assizes, I met with Henry Kettle the elder, a prisoner there; who was an ancient man, and had been mayor of the town and a justice of peace, before he was in communion with us. And after he had received our Friends and had meetings at his house, having a love to Truth and us, he was committed to prison; where he and I walking together in the prison yard, he opened his condition and exercise to me, how he was beset with relations, and pressed to take the oath of allegiance; otherwise they feared he and his family would be ruined: whereupon the trial came the harder on him, considering his own weakness. However, he tenderly told me, he had considered Christ's words: 'No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God:' concluding therefore, he must not look back or decline from the Truth.

"I was very glad to hear him voluntarily give such a tender account, both of his trial and good resolution; having well understood his weakness, and how considerable a time he had been wavering and halting in his mind; and how hard it was for him, being a person of great note, to give up to the cross of Christ, so as to endure reproach and persecution for

Christ Jesus and his Truth. Yet now when he was given up and resigned to suffer for Christ, he was assisted, and strengthened rather to suffer with the rest of us, than to lose his inward peace, by declining Truth's testimony. He was, contrary to law, removed from Thetford, the corporation where his residence and dwelling was, to the county gaol in Norwich castle; where his son Henry was detained prisoner, with the rest of us who had been and were then prisoners.

"At the ensuing quarter-sessions held at Norwich, the said Henry Kettle the elder was called into the court of sessions; where, to ensnare him, he was required to take the oath of allegiance, with endeavours to impose it upon him. But he stood firm and would not be imposed on; telling the justices, that he was removed out of his own respective corporation to which he belonged, contrary to law; and therefore was unduly brought before them in that court. It was a breach of his and the corporation's privilege, to remove him thence to that quarter-sessions, to be prosecuted or tried, and expressly contrary to Magna Charta; whereby the liberties and privileges of corporations are to be upheld and maintained, and not violated.

"I and another fellow-prisoner being then on

the castle hill, heard him plead after this manner and hold them closely to the point. But instead of answering him legally, or vindicating their proceeding by law, they still obtruded and imposed upon him, saying: 'It is no matter, it is no matter how you came here; that is not our business to enquire after: but now you are here, we have power to tender you the oath. Mr. Kettle, will you take the oath of allegiance, aye or no?

"He answered: 'Let me be returned back to my own corporation, the town of Thetford, and there I may answer.' But otherwise he esteemed himself not bound to answer in that court of sessions, held for the county of Norfolk.

"This account is the substance of the procedure against Henry Kettle, at that time; and when the justices could not by persuasion or menaces, prevail with him to swear or take the said oath, they returned him to the castle gaol, to remain prisoner with the rest of us.

"His prosecutors were not suffered to bring him under the judgment and penalty of a præmunire, any more than the rest of us, who were prosecuted in order thereto; but all discharged by the proclamation aforesaid."

"It was but for a short time after we were set at liberty, that we could enjoy our religious meetings quietly; the irreligious, persecuting

spirit being at work in the nation among priests and magistrates, who would have all compelled to go to church and conform, for all to be of one religion ;* when there was but little of the life, substance, or purity of religion designed in the case; but rather empty form, ceremony, and an outward show and pretence, to palliate covetousness, pride, manifold corruptions, and fleshly liberty, then abounding and more and more manifest. The libertines of those days boastingly telling us: you must all go to church, or else you must lose your estates; or you must be hanged, or banished, &c. With many such threats and cruel mockings; yet still it was a stay to us, and sure ground of faith and hope, that we knew Him in whom we livingly believed and hoped for salvation and strength.

"So hasty and precipitant was the persecuting spirit, and eager to be at work, and that too under some colour or pretence of law, that in the first Parliament chosen after the king's restoration, they soon contrived a bill for suppressing our meetings; and divers of the persons chosen to be members of that Parliament being persecutors, that party swayed

* The idol of uniformity has been the *Moloch* of the Christian Church.

and carried it by vote; insomuch that the bill was committed, and at last passed into an act, entitled,

"*An act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take lawful oaths.*"*

"This act was levelled against the people called Quakers, when nothing was justly chargeable against them, but what concerned religion and worship toward Almighty God, according to their conscientious persuasions;

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* The substance of the act was as follows: "Whereas of late times, certain persons under the names of Quakers, and other names of separation, have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and among others that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God: and the said persons do daily refuse to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens that truth is wholly suppressed, and the administration of justice much obstructed.

"And whereas the said persons, under a pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves in great numbers, in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence among themselves, and in the mean time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesty's good and loyal subjects, and from the public congregations and usual places of Divine Worship. It is enacted

"That if five or more Quakers, of sixteen years of age, or

therefore it was purely for serving and worshipping Him according to our consciences, that we did suffer greatly by the said act for a time.

"Some of us, viz. Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and myself, having notice and understanding the matter contained therein; when it was formed into a bill, attended the Parliament and solicited against the same, that it might not be passed into an act; discoursing many of the members, and showing them how unreasonable and injurious it would be, to pass such an act against us an innocent people: our religious assemblies being peaceable, and only intended for the worship of Almighty God, according to our consciences; and in no wise tending to the terror of the public, in appearance or action.

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upward, assemble under pretence of joining in religious worship, not authorised by law;

"The party offending, being convicted by verdict, confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall forfeit for the first offence, the sum imposed, not exceeding five pounds: and for the second, the sum imposed, not exceeding ten pounds, to be levied by distress, and sale of the goods: and for want thereof, or non-payment within a week after conviction, shall be committed to the gaol, or House of correction; for the first offence, three months; for the second, six months, to be kept at hard labour: and if after two convictions, they offend the third time, and are convicted, they shall abjure the realm, or the king may order them to be transported in any ship, to any of his plantations."

"When the said bill was committed, we did at sundry times attend the committee, on the 10th and 13th days of the 5th month, 1661; and each of us were permitted to appear, and our reasons to be heard before the same, concerning the bill, why it should not pass against us.

"What I declared to the committee, I kept this account of, viz. the first time I signified, 'that our meetings are for the worship of God, which really is a matter of conscience, and of great weight to us; and that which in tenderness of conscience to Christ's command we practice, for no other end but singly for the worship and service of God, according to the example and practice of primitive saints and Christians; and that we behaved ourselves peaceably towards all men: therefore therein we ought to have the liberty of our consciences, according to the king's promises of liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion, &c.

"'And that if we suffer for our peaceable, harmless meetings, we suffer for the cause of God, and shall commit our cause to Him, and know that He will plead and avenge it against our persecutors;' or to the same effect, exhorting them to act in the fear of God; with other words of concernment to them.

"The second time we were before the said committee, I told them as concerning our meet-

ings, against which their intended law chiefly was, that we met together in the Name and fear of the Lord God, and in obedience to Him as the saints of old did; so that they might as well go about to make a law, that we should not pray in the Name of Christ Jesus, as to make one to hinder or suppress our meetings, which are in his Name; and from which we may no more refrain, than Daniel could forbear praying to the true God, though it was contrary to king Darius's decree.

"One called Sir John Goodrick, being one of the committee, stood up and most busily inveighed against us; accusing our meetings, calling them unlawful, tending to seduce people from the church, and to seduce such as are orthodox, and the like.

"To which I answered: 'That if our meetings be contrary to law, then that implies there is some law which they are contrary to; and if so, it seems superfluous and needless for you to go about to make another; but no such thing, we hope, can be proved against us, as that our meetings are unlawful in themselves; being in obedience to the Lord our God, only for his worship, and agreeable to the practice of the primitive Christians, recorded in the Scriptures of Truth; such meetings are not unlawful, and such are ours as we can prove.

"'And if your intended law come to be put in execution against us, it may produce sad sufferings upon thousands of innocent people in the nation, and endanger the ruin of many families; and the loss of some lives; (and so it did, by persecution and imprisonments;) and of what a bad report will this be, that an innocent people should thus be oppressed for their consciences, when no matter of fact, or crime worthy of suffering can be proved against them.

"'And further, if this intended law be effected against us, it will elevate and strengthen wicked, malicious, and lawless persons, to take occasion to persecute us beyond the law; as they have lately done, when great numbers of us were imprisoned upon the king's proclamation, for meeting together; some of our Friends were taken out of their beds by rude fellows, and committed to prison; and some poor men were taken from their callings, and from their poor families whom they were to maintain, and sent to prison; and others taken travelling on the king's high-way, about their lawful occasions and committed to prison, contrary to law and the king's proclamation. Now if you make a law to cause us to suffer for our peaceable meetings, how much more will rude and lawless persons thereby take encouragement, to

act their cruelty and persecution against us, both beyond and contrary to what the law requires; and it is not your intended law, that will satisfy that malicious spirit.

"'These things I leave to your serious consideration.'

"Having not a particular or full account in writing, what my friends Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn declared to that committee, I cannot insert the same with mine; but I remember the last time we were before the committee, Edward Burrough told them to this purport: 'That if they made a law against our religious meetings, he should esteem it his duty to exhort our Friends to keep their meetings diligently.'

"Notwithstanding what is before related, to the said committee against the bill, they went forward, being intent upon it, in order to make their report to the whole House; and we being given to understand what day the bill was to be read in the House, were concerned to attend that day; and to endeavour to obtain leave to be heard in the House, before it was passed into an act.

"The day appointed, being the 19th of the 5th month, called July, 1661, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and myself, with Edward Pyott of Bristol, who had been a captain, went

to the Parliament House, and spake to some of the members, whom we knew were friendly to us, to move for our admittance to be heard in the House, before the bill was passed; for which we gave them in writing, a proposal to this purpose, viz.: 'That we desired to have the liberty that criminals are allowed; that is, if they have any thing to say or offer in court, why sentence should not pass against them, they may be heard; so we desire that we may be heard, what we have to say why the said bill ought not to pass against us.'

"Whereupon a motion being made in the House, and leave given that we might be called in and heard, accordingly we were forthwith called in before the bar of the House of Commons; there being a full house, and all in a quiet posture ready to hear what we had to offer.

"As Edward Burrough began to plead in vindication of the Quaker's meetings, on occasion of the bill before them, against the same, some of the members said to him: 'You must direct your speech to Mr. Speaker.' He told them, he would. The point he chiefly insisted upon was, 'that our meetings were no ways to the terror of the people, as was suggested in the preamble of the bill; but peaceable, innocent meetings, only for the worship and service of Almighty God, and as we are required by the

law of God, placed in our hearts and consciences, which they ought not to make any law against. No human law ought to be made contrary to the law of God; for if they did make any such law, it would not be binding to us to disobey the law of God.' For which he mentioned and quoted to them that ancient law book, 'Doctor and Student,' which he had then in his hand: where, treating of the law of God, the law of reason, &c. written in the heart of man, it is said: 'Because it is written in the heart, it may not be put away, neither is it ever changeable by diversity of place nor time; and therefore against this law, prescription, statute, or custom may not prevail: and if any be brought in against it, they be not prescriptions statutes, nor customs, but things void and against justice.'

"Wherefore Edward Burrough told them: 'That if they made such a law against our meetings, which are appointed for the worship of God, it would be contrary to the law of God and void, or ought to be void, ipso facto.'

"This was the import or substance of what Edward Burrough pleaded to the House at that time.

"And what Richard Hubberthorn pleaded and argued, was upon this point, viz.: 'It being suggested that we being numerous, and

holding a close or strict correspondence among ourselves, our meetings might be the more dangerous, to contrive and cause insurrections, &c. as is implied in the preamble of the bill.'

"To which Richard Hubberthorn gave a fair and ingenuous answer: 'That there could be no such danger in our meetings, as the contrivance of insurrections or plots against the government; for our meetings being public, where all sorts of people may resort, and come to hear and see what is said or done, it is not likely nor probable, we should plot or contrive insurrections in them, in the sight of the whole world. And if our meetings should be reduced into such small numbers, as but four or five persons besides those of the family, it could not break our correspondence; but we should have more opportunity privately to correspond, and to plot and contrive insurrection or mischief, if we were a people of such bad principles, or so evilly principled, which we are not. Therefore it is most reasonable to suffer our meetings to be public as they are, and not to punish us on causeless suspicion of danger, when there appears no reason for the same; nor to make a law to limit them to small numbers.'

"George Whitehead then said: 'We desire you in the fear of the Lord, to consider us as we are an innocent and suffering people, and

have been so under the several governments, since we were a people; as our patience and innocency towards our persecutors, in all our sufferings, have plainly manifested; for both under Oliver Cromwell and since his days, have we endured much hard suffering, persecution, and imprisonment, for our conscience; and yet we have not rebelled, nor sought revenge against our persecutors; but in all our undeserved sufferings, have committed our cause to the Lord.

"'And therefore what an unreasonable thing is it, that a law should particularly be made against us, when we have done no evil, nor any injury against any man's person; nor could any such thing be proved against us, in respect to our meetings, that ever we were found guilty of; so that for you to make a law against us, tending to our ruin, and to go about to trample us underfoot, when we are innocent and peaceable in the nation, and no matter of fact worthy of suffering proved against us; will neither be to the honour of the king, nor add any thing to your security.

"'Nay, what a hard thing is it, for you to make a law to add afflictions and sad sufferings upon us, when there are divers laws already, whereby we are liable to suffer, as those for tithes, oaths, and others; so that to make

another law to afflict us, when nothing worthy of suffering is proved, seems to us very hard and unreasonable.

"'And moreover we have neither forfeited our liberties nor abused the king's indulgence, in any thing acted by us. And the king having promised liberty to tender consciences, on condition they do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and we not having forfeited our interest therein, therefore ought not to be hindered of our liberty, in matters of worship and conscience towards God. We can prove that our practice of assembling ourselves together, and our principles also, are grounded upon the righteous law of God, and agreeable to Christ's doctrine; and we are willing to vindicate and demonstrate them, according to Truth, if we might have liberty here; and that for the satisfaction of such as oppose or scruple them.

"'In the fear of the Lord consider what you are doing, and seek not farther to add affliction to us, lest you oppress the innocent. However if we suffer, we shall commit our cause to the Lord our God, who will, no doubt, plead it against our oppressors.'

"After Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead * had declared to

* Geo. Whitehead was at this time about twenty-four years of age.

the House of Commons, according as before related; Edward Pyott was also permitted to speak a few words to them, which he very weightily did on this subject; namely, reminding them of that golden rule, which Jesus Christ has laid down and requires us all to observe, which is: 'To do to all men as we would be willing they should do unto us;' thereupon cautioning them, that as they would not be persecuted, oppressed, or made to suffer for their religion or conscience, or have a law made for that purpose against them; no more ought they to make a law against us, to punish us for worshiping God according to our consciences or inward persuasions. This matter Edward Pyott pressingly urged to them.

"We appeared and declared what was upon our minds, in great simplicity and sincerity; and the Lord's power and presence was with us, and helped us in our endeavours; and I saw clearly, that what we declared innocently to them, had some effect upon and reached the consciences of divers of the members, who appeared serious and also sober in their carriage toward us. For I afterward had intimation, that some of the members did confess, that what we had declared was very reasonable; and if they had feared God or regarded his counsel,

and suffered Him to rule among them, they would not have made that act against us.

"But we had only a very few in that Parliament, who appeared openly to be our friends; or friends for liberty to tender consciences in those days; namely, Edmund Waller, sen. esq. who was termed, Wit Waller; he was principled against persecution, and for liberty of conscience, and always kind to us; and one Michael Mallett, esq. who afterward was convinced of the Truth; and frequented our meetings even in suffering times, when our meetings were kept out of doors in the streets, in Westminster and London. And Sir John Vaughan, then a young man, appeared also for us; and afterward was convinced of the Truth, and went to our meetings when we were persecuted upon the conventicle act, and was imprisoned in Newgate with our Friends, for a little time, being taken at a meeting at Mile-end. He continued afterward among our Friends, and visited us in prison; and though at length some of his relations drew him aside, to his great prejudice, yet he retained a kindness even when he came to be Earl of Carbery; and continued friendly to us, when he was an old man and until his latter end; not wholly forgetting what conviction and knowledge of the Truth he received when among us.

"There were also some few more of the members of that Parliament friendly toward us at that time, when we appeared before them. Howbeit the majority being resolved and bent to persecution, they passed the said bill into an act; upon which great persecution and imprisonments followed.*

* Neal, in his history of the Puritans, speaking of this circumstance, says: "Among others who were obnoxious to the ministry were Quakers, who having declared openly the unlawfulness of making use of carnal weapons even in self defence, had the courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that swearing upon the most solemn occasions was forbidden in the New Testament. The lords in a committee rejected their petition and instead of granting them relief passed an act, which had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from sedition or disaffection to the government." After mentioning the suffering state of the Quakers at this time, he truly adds: "But this was but the beginning of sorrows." vol. ii. p. 511 and 512.

SECTION IX.

George Whitehead's own account of persecutions in London in 1662 to 1664—An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles—Persecution in London 1665—He visits the northern counties, &c. and returns to London—Remains there during the plague.

* "In the year 1662, our meetings in and about London were broken up by force and violence,

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* We cannot have too strongly impressed upon our minds, the sacrifices made by our early Friends for those principles and practices which we now profess and pursue in peace and credit. I shall therefore insert here a few more particulars which George Whitehead does not furnish, from the faithful annalist of the Society, Sewell: "A little before this time there was published in print, a short relation of the persecution throughout all England, signed by twelve persons, showing that more than four thousand two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison in England; and denoting the number of them that were imprisoned in each county, either for frequenting meetings, or for denying to swear, &c. Many of these had been grievously beaten, or their clothes torn or taken away from them; and some were put into such stinking dungeons, that some great men said, they would not have put their hunting dogs there. Some prisons were crowded full both of men and women, so that there was not sufficient room for all to sit down at once; and in Cheshire, sixty-eight persons were in this manner locked up in a small room; an evident sign that they were a harmless

by the trained bands and officers; especially on the First-days of the week; which though professed to be their Christian Sabbaths, no holiness was observed, but rending and tearing innocent

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people, that would neither make any resistance, nor use any force.

"By such ill treatment many grew sick; and not a few died in such gaols; for no age or sex was regarded; but even ancient people of sixty, seventy, and more years of age, were not spared: and the most of these being tradesmen, shop-keepers, and husbandmen, were thus reduced to poverty; for their goods were also seized for not going to church, or for not paying tithes.

"Many times they were fain to be in prison, on cold, nasty ground, without being suffered to have any straw, and often they have been kept several days without victuals: no wonder, therefore, that many died by such hard imprisonments as these.

"In London, and in the suburbs, were, about this time, no less than five hundred of those called Quakers imprisoned; and some in such narrow holes, that every person scarcely had convenience to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their clothes and money.

"Many that were not imprisoned, nevertheless suffered hardships in their religious meetings, especially that in London, known by the name of *Bull and Mouth*. Here the trained band came frequently, armed generally with muskets, pikes, and halbards, and conducted by a military officer, by order of the city magistracy; and rushing in, in a very furious manner, fell to beating them, whereby many were grievously wounded, fell down in a swoon, and some were beaten so violently, that they lived not long after it."—*Sewel, 2 vol. 7th book, p.* 1 and 2.

Nor, in these disastrous days were the persecuted Quakers secure in their private dwellings, "for when some persons were seen to enter a house though it was only to visit their friends, it

people out of their religious assemblies, and haling them to prison: such furious work of persecution they commonly wrought on that day they pretend to be their Christian Sabbath, and the Lord's day, and to be kept holy, &c. as Israel was required to observe and keep the Seventh-day for the Sabbath, according to the fourth commandment. Yet these our persecutors made no conscience of violating and profaning their professed Sabbath, by such their works of violence and persecution, yea, even after an act of Parliament was made, for the better observation of the Lord's day. Those self-condemned pretended Christians, in many places furiously went on in their persecution and cruelty, against their fellow-creatures and honest neighbours, without regard to God, or religious worship, or any day; to the great reproach and scandal of the profession of Christianity.

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was called a meeting. It happened in one house, that these rude fellows, (musketeers,) found five persons together one of whom was William Ames, who was come thither out of Holland; and another was Samuel Fisher, and when it was demanded what warrant they had, they held up their swords, and said: 'Do not ask us for a warrant; this is our warrant;' and thereupon they took these persons to Paul's yard, where they were a laughing stock to the soldiers, and thence to alderman Brown, who sent them to Bridewell to be kept to hard labour." *p.* 10.

"Pursuant to the aforesaid act, as was pretended, my beloved brethren Richard Hubberthorn, and Edward Burrough, with myself, and many more of our faithful Friends, were haled out of meetings, and imprisoned in Newgate, London; where so many of us were crowded together, both in that called justice hall side, and in the chapel side of the prison, that we were hard put to it for lodging room.

"The chapel was on the top of Newgate, where many Friends lay in hammocks crowded; and Richard Hubberthorn and I lay on a small pallet bed, in a little hole or closet behind the chapel and opening into it, so as the breath and steam of those that lay next us in the chapel, came much upon us. We chose to lodge on the chapel side, for the encouragement of many of the poorer sort of Friends, who were there, and that they might not be offended or troubled, as we thought they might, if we had taken up our lodging among the richer sort of our Friends, on justice hall side. We had many good meetings in the chapel; and the Lord was with us to our great comfort and encouragement, in his Name and Power, for whose sake we suffered patiently.

"It being in summer time and a hot season, when we were thus crowded in prison, some of our Friends fell sick of a violent fever, whereof

some died; and were viewed by the coroner's inquest: and when some were removed out of prison, by reason of sickness, they quickly ended their days, after their close confinement.

"In those days of hot persecution, Sir Richard Brown * was chief persecutor in London,

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* "In the time of Cromwell," says Sewell, "Brown had been a major general in the army, and was very fierce against the Royalists at Abingdon not far from Oxford; and for this error he endeavoured to make compensation, by violently persecuting the harmless Quakers. He was a comely man, and could commit cruelty with a smiling countenance." His personal cruelty to the prisoners who were brought before him, surpasses the ordinary actings even of those days. The following may serve as a specimen of his frequent conduct.

"Some soldiers came to a meeting in Tower Street, and without any warrant, took away twenty-one persons called Quakers, and carried them to the exchange; where they kept them some time, and then brought them before Richard Brown, who, in a most furious manner, struck some, and kicked others; which made one of the prisoners, seeing how Brown smote one with his fist, and kicked him on the shin, say: 'What, Richard, wilt thou turn murderer! Thou didst not do so when I was a soldier under thy command at Abingdon; when thou commandedst me and others to search people's houses for pies and roast meat, because they kept Christmas as a holy time, and we brought the persons prisoners to the guard for observing the same.' One of Brown's family hearing what was said to him, replied: 'There is an Abingdon bird;' to which Brown replied: 'He is a rogue for all that;' and struck him with his fist under the chin; which made another prisoner say: 'What, a magistrate and strike?' upon which Brown, with both his hands pulled him down to the

and gloried much in his persecuting and imprisoning our Friends; insulting over them. One time when several of us were called into the court of sessions in the Old Bailey, one Friend was moved to testify against their persecuting and oppressing the righteous seed and people of God, calling out unto the magistrates on the bench: 'How long will ye oppress the righteous seed,' &c. with other words on the same subject. While he was so speaking, the

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ground; and then commanded the soldiers to carry them to Newgate."

When he did not thus use his own hands, he very frequently ordered the officers of the court to abuse the prisoners; so that the spectators have called out 'murder!' One John Brain being taken in the street, and not in any meeting, was brought by some soldiers before Brown, who seeing him with his hat on, ordered him to be pulled down to the ground six or seven times; and when he was down they beat his head against the ground and stamped upon him; and Brown, like a madman, bade them pull off his nose; whereupon they violently pulled him by the nose. And when he was got up, they pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head; and then by the hair pulled him up again. And when he would have spoken in his own behalf against this cruelty, Brown bade them stop his mouth; whereupon they not only struck him on the mouth, but stopped his mouth and nose, so close that he could not draw breath; and was like to be choaked: at which Brown fell a laughing, and at length sent him to gaol."

Notwithstanding the notorious conduct of this wicked magistrate, he was a favourite at court, and was knighted!

said Sir Richard Brown in derision, began to sing like the women that cry kitchen stuff and Wall-Fleet oysters up and down the streets of London: '*Ha you any kitchen stuff, maids? Ha you any kitchen stuff, maids? Hey, Wall-Fleet oysters; will you buy any Wall-Fleet oysters? Will you buy any Wall-Fleet oysters? &c.*

"Many of us were committed for three months' imprisonment in Newgate, being our first commitment upon the aforesaid act: and before the time of that imprisonment was expired, my dear friend and brother Richard Hubberthorn was taken sick and died; and also our dear brother Edward Burrough, who was detained prisoner after I was released, was also taken sick of a fever and died; so the Lord was pleased by death to release both these my dear brethren, companions, and fellow labourers in the Gospel of Christ Jesus; whose death was lamented by many tender Friends, respecting the great service which they had done in their day.

"And though I had a full share in suffering with my friends and brethren, in those days of hot persecution; and was carried through such imprisonments and sufferings as ended the days of several, yet my days have been lengthened

much beyond my expectation; insomuch that I have been ready humbly to enquire, 'Lord, for what end am I so long spared alive, and my days prolonged, when so many of thy faithful servants are removed?' Whereupon He has showed me, that my trials and service in his Church and for his people, were not yet finished; and He has often made me sensible of his merciful providence, in my preservation through many trials and exercises; being supported by the word of faith and of his patience, in the kingdom and patience of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever. O! my soul, praise thou the Lord, my Life, my Strength, and my Salvation; and let all that is within me bless his Holy Name!

"In those days of hot persecution, it was observable how furious some of the judges were against our Friends, when brought prisoners into court and they wanted evidence of matter of fact against them upon trial; and some of our Friends not answering interrogatories to accuse themselves, but asking for their accusers. Some of the judges would use the words: 'Sirrah! sirrah! you are an impudent fellow; leave your canting,' &c. threatening them with severe menaces, and frowning on or brow beat-

ing them; much unbecoming a justice or judge, who ought to be indifferent, and impartial to do equal justice and right, without premeditation or partiality against any person.

"The said act against Quakers, to fine, imprison, and transport them out of the land for not swearing, or for their religious meetings, did not satisfy those rigid persecutors, when they had made trial thereof; the process thereupon, to three months and six months' imprisonment, &c. before it came to transportation or banishment, was too slow and dilatory a procedure to answer their invidious designs. They could not thereby so expeditiously rid the land of us as they would; and therefore, in a short time, they procured another engine to shorten their work against us, to wit, another act, entitled, '*An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles*,' 16 Car. 2 cap. 4. Of which act, and the administration thereof, some account may be given hereafter."

George Whitehead next gives a relation of his imprisonment with divers other Friends, in the White Lion prison in Southwark, for assembling together in the worship and service of Almighty God, and of their usage and treatment in prison; which as he observes, shows the

manner in which Friends, were treated in those days, for innocent religious meetings. *

* The treatment of Friends in these days—their zeal in the support of what they believed to be right, and their constancy in suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, are so strikingly set forth in the following extract from Sewel, that I venture to introduce it, though the work may be easy of reference to most readers. It adds another to the many examples proving the impolicy of persecution, and that the Church when in spiritual health, flourishes under the fiercest trials.

"Oftentimes," says this faithful annalist, "they were kept out of their meeting-houses by the soldiers; but then they did not use to go away, but stood before the place; and so their number soon increased; and then one or other of their ministers generally stept on a bench, or some high place, and so preached boldly. Thus he got more hearers than he otherwise would have had. But such an one sometimes was soon pulled down, which then gave occasion for another to stand up and speak; and thus four or five, one after another, were taken away as innocent sheep, and carried to prison with others of their Friends, it may be forty or fifty at once.

"The keeping of meetings in the streets became now a customary thing in England; for the Quakers, so called, were persuaded that the exercise of their public worship, was a duty no man could discharge them from; and they believed that God required the performing of this service from their hands. And by thus meeting in the streets, it happened sometimes that more than one; nay, it may be three or four at a time, did preach, one in one place, and another in another; which in their meeting places could not have been conveniently done. Thus they got abundance of auditors, and among these sometimes eminent men, who passing by in their coaches, made their coachmen stop.

"In this state they found a great harvest, and thus their

"Upon the 3rd day of the 5th month, 1664, being the first day of the week, our Friends were peaceably met together at their usual

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Church increased under suffering; and in those sharp times they were pretty well purified of dross; since the trial was too hot, for such as were not sincere; for by frequenting their meetings in such a time, one was in danger of being either imprisoned or beaten lame, or unto death; but this could not quench the zeal of the upright.

"Now the taking away of one preacher, and the standing up of another, became an ordinary thing in England; and it lasted yet long after, as I myself have been an eye witness of there. And when there were no more men preachers present, it may be a woman would rise, and minister to the meeting; nay, there were such, who in years being little more than boys, were endued with a manly zeal, and encouraged their Friends to steadfastness." *p.* 5.

"Nor did the soldiers respect age, (as specified by the law,) but took out of a meeting at Mile-End two boys, one about thirteen and the other about sixteen, and they were brought before the lieutenant of the tower, who to one present, saying, he supposed they were not of the age of sixteen and therefore not punishable by the act, replied: 'They were old enough to be whipt, and they should be whipt out of their religion.' And so he sent them to Bridewell, where their hands were put into the stocks, and so pinched for the space of two hours that their wrists were much swollen. This was done because they refused to work, as being persuaded they had not deserved to be treated so; they also eating nothing at the expence of the house.

"These lads though pretty long in that prison, yet continued steadfast, rejoicing they were counted worthy to suffer for the Name of the Lord; and they wrote a letter to their Friends' children, exhorting them to be faithful in bearing their testimony for the Lord, against all wickedness and unrighteousness." *p.* 8.

meeting place at Horslydown; according to their wonted manner, waiting upon the Lord in his fear. And after some time, George Whitehead spake to the assembly by way of exhortation, to truth and righteousness. In the interim, a company of soldiers with muskets and lighted matches in their hands, rushed in; and before they came into the inner door, one of them fired a musket: and two of them violently pulled George Whitehead down, and haled him and some others out of the meeting, and carried themselves very rudely; pushing and threatening our Friends, forcing many out of the meeting, and raging at and pushing women when they came near their husbands, whom they had taken into custody. And George Whitehead asking them to show their warrant for what they did, a soldier held up his musket over his head and said, that was his warrant.

"Then both men and women whose names were in the mittimus with several more, some whereof they took near the meeting-house door and others in the street, were had to the main guard on Margaret's Hill; where they kept them for some time, until those called justices came; who asked our Friends, whether they were at the meeting aforesaid; to which answer was made, that they desired to hear what evidence came against them; for some

were taken in the street, and not all in the meeting. But they put it upon George Whitehead to confess, if he was not present at the meeting? To which he answered, what evidence have you against me, and I shall answer further? Whereupon some of the soldiers were called to give evidence concerning him, and the rest with him: they witnessed, that he was taken in the meeting-house, speaking to the people; which was all the evidence that was given against him.

"George Whitehead excepted against the soldiers, as being incompetent witnesses; for they came, said he, in a rude and inhuman manner, with force and arms; and so apprehended us illegally, without any justice present or warrant for what they did; but one holding up his musket, said that was his warrant, when they took us. So that they came in a terrifying manner among a peaceable people, which was both contrary to the late act and contrary to the king's Proclamation; which prohibits the seizing of subjects by soldiers, unless in time of actual insurrection. And by the said act, the deputy lieutenants and militia officers and forces, are not required to be assisting in suppressing meetings, unless upon a certificate under the hand and seal of a justice of peace, that he with his assistants are not able to sup-

press them. And also it was told them, that no dwelling house of any peer, or other person whatsoever, shall be entered into by virtue of the said act, but in the presence of one justice of peace.

"Friends also complained against one of the soldiers, for firing his musket near the meeting door, in the entry, and shooting a bullet through two or three ceilings and a dwelling room; which bullet was found near a cradle, where a child used to be laid; and one present had the same to show them.

"George Moor, one of the justices, answered that it was done accidentally; but how that could be, that it was not intentionally done, does not appear; seeing the rest of the soldiers held their matches apart from their muskets. Howbeit if accidentally done, consider whether such a man as had no more discretion and government or care, was a fit person or officer, to come in that manner, with a musket charged, among a peaceable, harmless people assembled to worship God? But George Moor excused their having their muskets laden. And to George Whitehead's saying, that there was no justice present when they were apprehended; George Moor answered that he was present. George Whitehead told him, they did not see him there; and the soldiers being asked, if he

were present among them, they said no. But he said he was present, for he was near the meeting, or but a little way off. And to George Whitehead's requiring justice against those soldiers that had broken the peace, and his desiring that they would correct or stop such proceedings for the future; saying, if any hurt be done by the soldiers, it will be required at your hands, &c. answer was made by some present, that our Friends might take their course and have the benefit of the law, if they would swear the peace against them.

"As to the charge against George Whitehead, that he was at an unlawful assembly, and there was taken speaking—he answered, that it must be some unlawful act done by the persons met, that could make the meeting unlawful; and therefore desired to know what unlawful act they had committed, or were guilty of in their meeting? And he told them, that it was neither simply the meeting, nor the number met, whether five or five hundred, that could reasonably be judged unlawful, if the act or occasion met about was lawful; for it is an unlawful act that makes an unlawful meeting.

"As to the act of Parliament which is named, 'an act to prevent seditious conventicles;' the name should signify its nature and intent, and the preamble the reason or cause of it, and that

is against such as under pretence of tender consciences do contrive insurrections at their meetings. The preambles of laws are esteemed the keys of laws. One of the justices said: He did not know but that our meetings were to that intent. George Whitehead told him, whatsoever he or any other might suspect against them, proves nothing; suspicion proves no fact: we are an innocent people fearing God.

"Some of the justices upon the evidence alleged, that George Whitehead was at the meeting and taken speaking, and the meeting was above the number of five. To which George Whitehead said, that proves nothing of the breach of the law against him, unless they could prove some unlawful act done or met about; for it is not the number makes the transgression, but the fact if it be unlawful; and if three be met about an unlawful act, it is an unlawful meeting or a riot. This Friends urged several times, that it must be an unlawful act that must make a meeting unlawful; and thereupon excepted against the evidence as insufficient for conviction, or passing sentence of imprisonment upon them in order to banishment. And it was urged as a matter of weight, which concerned them to consider of.

"Whereupon George Moor with some others, commanded the people to depart, and caused

the soldiers to disperse them who stood civilly by to hear and see what became of our Friends, that they might not hear their trial, and would have had George Whitehead taken away, &c. And George Whitehead being several times accused for speaking in the meeting, he desired the justices to ask the witness what he spake in the meeting? But they would not ask the question, neither could the witnesses answer to it when it was propounded by our Friends; so that nothing of the breach of the law was proved against them. One Friend told them, we suppose you will not account it a transgression to speak, where nothing can be proved against what is spoken; unless you would have us dumb and not speak at all.

"And then as to meeting to the number of five or above, under colour or pretence of religious exercise not allowed by the liturgy, which incurs the penalty of the act, George Whitehead questioned what manner of religious exercise the liturgy did disallow of? and granted that he was at the meeting and there did speak, having a word of exhortation to the people; but that still they fell short in their proof, either that the meeting was seditious or tumultuous, or that the exercise of religion or worship as we practised was disallowed by the liturgy. For, said he, the liturgy allows what the Holy

Scriptures allow of; and if I had a word of exhortation to speak, according to the Gift of God received, this is allowed by the Scriptures, therefore not disallowed by the liturgy; so that you have not proved the transgression of the law against me. To which they gave no answer. The clerk said it was a dilemma; some Friends they let go, because the soldiers could not testify whether they took them in the street or in the meeting.

"But seeing they resolved to proceed against some of our Friends, George Whitehead told them, that if they had so much moderation in them, they needed not to proceed to the rigour of the law, so as to imprison them for three months; seeing the law allowed any time not exceeding three months, &c. But if they would imprison them to the utmost, George Whitehead demanded that they might have sufficient prison room, and not be stifled and destroyed by many being crowded together, as several were before, in the same prison, &c.; for if they were it would be required at their hands, and God would plead their cause and call them to account for what they had done against them, &c.

"After several passages betwixt them, more than are here mentioned, Friends refusing to pay five pounds fine each, they were committed

to jail without bail or mainprize. While the justices were committing them, there was exceeding thunder, lightning, and rain; insomuch that the water was so high in the street, that the soldiers could not get them to prison, but kept them in the street in the rain, and after had them back to a house until the water was fallen; and then they were had late to prison, much wet.

"The two keepers, viz. Stephen Harris and Joseph Hall, after a little space demanded of each of them three shillings and sixpence a week for lodging, or two shillings apiece for the bare rooms, the best whereof overflowed with water. But they could not yield to the gaoler's oppression, nor answer his unreasonable demands, nor pay him down ten shillings which he required for that first night; but desired to be left to their liberty, and if they received any courtesy or accommodation from him, they should consider him as they found cause; but neither could pay for a prison nor uphold oppression in it.

"Whereupon Stephen Harris threatened them with the common ward, where the felons lie, and commanded them to go into it; which they refused, as a place not fit for true men to be in. Yet the said Harris turned them into the common ward among the said felons; Friends

warned him not to suffer them to be abused, but they made light of it, saying, it is your own faults; and seemed to encourage the felons against our Friends.

"Soon after the keepers had turned their backs, the felons demanded half a crown apiece of each of them, swearing what they would do to them; and because Friends could not answer their unjust demands, they fell upon them, searched their pockets, and took what money they found from several of them. And when they had so done, Stephen Harris the keeper came to the window, and the felons confidently told him what they had done, and how much they had taken, and that they must have more from them; which he did not at all reprove them for; and they said, they hoped he would stand by them in what they did; only he made them return the cloak they had taken from one Friend, after they had taken his money; and he laughed when they threatened Friends and swore and cursed them; the keepers also swore at them, and threatened to make them bow; whereupon the felons gave a shout, crying: 'God 'a mercy, boys, we will be upon them again,' &c.

"Besides these abuses which our Friends met withal from the gaolers and prisoners, the ward was such a nasty stinking hole, and so crowded

with those felons, and several women lying among them, which some called their wives, that our Friends had not whereon to lay their heads to rest, nor a stool to sit down upon; but when they were weary, were fain to sit down on the floor, among the vermin, in a stinking place: of which gross abuses, complaint being made to some of the justices that committed them, the next night the gaoler was made to let Friends have room to lodge in, apart from the felons.

"A few days after my commitment to White Lion prison aforesaid, another trial befel me; I was had out of the prison, before John Lenthal, about the plot in the north of England, 1663, being unjustly accused by a Yorkshireman, a sort of an attorney, to have been concerned in that plot, because I was a Westmoreland man born; and though he could not make out any proof against me, yet he persisted in his own evil jealousy and surmise, that I was such a person, whom he named, and said was in the plot; affirming that my name was not Whitehead, but another name. Whereupon I was then carried in a boat to White-hall, guarded with musketeers, and the gaoler also with us, and there was I had into a room near the secretary's office, where the gaoler waited with me; the lawyer, who falsely had suggested the

crime against me, went in, and after some time a person was sent out to examine me, and my accuser with him; then was I questioned about my name, the examiner looking in a list of names which he had in his hand; I gave him a just account of my name and clearness, yet my accuser would confidently contradict me, saying, your name is not Whitehead, but Marshden, or such a like name; I told him surely I knew my own name, as I had declared it; presently stept in one who seemed to be an ancient gentleman, hearing my accuser tell me my name was not Whitehead, and contradicted him; saying: 'Yes, his name is Whitehead; he has writ divers books, to which his name is in print;' which gave a check to him, and prevented further examination.

'Howbeit this busy, false accuser went in again to the secretary's office, and in a little time came out, and warned the gaoler not to discharge me, until he had order from the secretary; but whether he had order so to caution the gaoler, was questionable, for the man appeared very busy against me, without cause, or any previous knowledge of me, or I of him; but seeing he was so confident in his unjust prosecution, I questioned in my thoughts, whether he might not be suborned to prosecute me, or did it to get himself a name, or some

reward for a pretended discovery. However I esteemed it best and safest for me, to trust in the Lord my God for preservation, and to be resigned to his will; and I desired if He suffered me to be prosecuted and tried for my life, I might have opportunity to vindicate and clear our holy profession and Friends, and my own innocency also, from all such works of darkness, as plots and conspiracies against king, or government; and this I thought to do, if brought to a place of execution; nevertheless I wrote a letter from prison to the Lord Arlington, then secretary of state, to clear my own innocency from those false suggestions and insinuations, which were made against me, about the plot before mentioned, which was delivered to him, and I heard no more of it afterward, but was released out of prison with the rest, when the three months were expired, for which we had been committed.

"On the 16th day of the 8th month, 1664, being the first day of the week, our Friends were met together, in the fear of the Lord according to their usual manner, in their meeting place at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, London; and George Whitehead being there, declared the Truth in the power and dread of the Lord God. After some time, came a great company of men with halberts into the meeting, and a little after they shut the meeting-house

door, and kept out many people that would have come in ; howbeit the halberteers stood and heard quietly for near an hour, as it was thought, only one rude fellow attempted to pull George Whitehead down, but did not. Afterward came the lord mayor, and a company with him, and Richard Brown followed. In a little time after the mayor came in, a rude fellow violently pulled George Whitehead down from speaking, and haled him near the door ; the mayor asked him his name, he told him.

"Richard Brown came somewhat rudely into the meeting, reviling and deriding Friends, whereupon one of them giving testimony for the presence of the Lord in our meeting, after this manner, viz. 'The Lord brought us hither ; and the presence of the Lord is among us ; and this is my testimony,' &c. In opposition thereto, the said Richard Brown answered, viz. 'The devil brought you hither ; and the devil is among you ; and this is my testimony ;' laughing and swinging his arms, and threatened some to send them to Bridewell. But George Whitehead exhorted the said Richard Brown and the mayor to moderation and civility towards us ; Richard Brown answered, if you will be civil to us, we will be civil to you. George Whitehead desired the mayor to produce the law they had broken, and that they might have a fair

trial. Richard Brown answered: 'Yes, you shall have a fair trial at the sessions to-morrow;' it not being then ended. Then some of the halbertmen had George Whitehead, and some more of his Friends into the street, where after they had kept them some time, they sent them in companies to Newgate, without sending warrants with them, being fined one shilling each, * or six days imprisonment.

"In such manner both our men and women Friends were frequently imprisoned, and gaols filled with them in those days, and their persecutors were in great heat and haste to get them banished, upon the second act of parliament made for that end.

"If they could bring them under conviction for a third offence, as they termed our meeting to worship the Living and only True God: which if any one among us did but confess, it was enough to make him or her an offender, and to be convicted presently thereupon, either for a first, second, or third offence. And the shortness of our imprisonment last related, as well as the smallness of the fines of one shilling apiece, seemed designed to dispatch us the sooner out

* The number so committed was 45, viz. 29 men, and 16 women.

of the land by banishment, after conviction for three offences pretended.

"Now, it may not be improper to give some account of the contents of the second act of parliament, designed not only for our imprisonment, but also, for our banishment out of the land of our nativity; and that with more expedition than could be effected by the first act; though the Lord our God would not suffer that design of banishment to take any such general effect against us as was desired by our invidious persecutors; for by his judgments in a great measure he frustrated our adversaries. Howbeit many of our innocent Friends were sentenced for banishment, yet but few, in comparison, actually shipt away, or banished out of the land.

"The preamble and penalties of the said act follow, 16 car. 2. ch. 4.

"It is styled, an act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. In the preamble, the 25th Eliz. ch. 1. is declared to be in force: and also for providing of further and more speedy remedy against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences, do at their meetings continue insurrections, as late experience hath showed. Thus far the preamble, and reason given for the act.

"Thereupon it is enacted, that if any person

of the age of 16 years and upwards, being a subject, &c. shall be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner then is allowed by the liturgy of the Church of England, every such person being convicted before two justices of the peace, to be committed to the gaol, or house of correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for any time not exceeding three months; unless such person pay down to the said justices, such sum of money not exceeding five pounds, as they might fine the offender at.

"And for the second offence, the person convicted incurred the penalty of imprisonment, for any time not exceeding six months, without bail or mainprize; unless the person convicted, pay down such sum of money, not exceeding ten pounds, as the justices would fine him.

"The penalty for the third offence, was imprisonment without bail or mainprize, until the next general quarter sessions, assizes, gaol-delivery, &c. there to be indicted arrainged, &c. And when convicted, judgment to be entered, that such offender should be transported beyond the seas, to any of his majesty's foreign plantations, Virginia and New-England only excepted, there to remain seven years.

"And the said respective courts were also

empowered to give out warrants to the several constables, &c. where the estate real or personal of such offender so to be transported, should be; commanding them to seize into their hands, the profits of the lands, and to distrain and sell the goods of the person to be transported, for the reimbursing the sheriff his charges, for conveying and embarking the person to be transported.

"And it is also provided and enacted, that in case the offender convicted for the third offence, shall pay one hundred pounds in court; he shall be discharged from imprisonment, transportation, and judgment for the same.

"And it is further enacted, that the like imprisonment, judgment, arraingment, and proceedings, shall be against every such offender as often as he shall again offend after such third offence; nevertheless is dischargeable and discharged by payment of the like sum as was payed for his, or her said offence, next before committed, together with the additional and increased sum of one hundred pounds more upon every new offence committed.

"But this severe act was made temporary, only being to continue in force for three years after the end of that session, and to the end of the next session of parliament, after the end of three years, and no longer.

"And indeed it was high time that persecuting

cruel law should expire, and die; for the execution thereof, tended to the great oppression and ruin of many of the king's innocent peaceable subjects and families, especially of the people called Quakers, whom the persecutors in that three years' time furiously endeavoured to rid the nation of, by banishment, or to force them to conform to that church whereof those persecutors were members; who by their many and frequent imprisonments, in order to banishment, brought no great honour to their church, priesthood, or profession, but made many widows and fatherless, as well as poor, by their persecutions, cruelties, imprisonments, fines, and distresses, and many times spoil of their goods, upon their persecuting acts and laws. Our religious assemblies have been often disturbed and broken by the persecuting agents, officers, and soldiers, &c. and many of us apprehended and brought before magistrates, and witnesses called and examined, and no matter of evil fact proved against any of us, either of any breach of the public peace or sedition, much less of any contrivance of insurrection, or of any other dangerous practice whatsoever; or if the meeting was taken sometime wholly silent, or altogether in silence, yet the persecuting justices would endeavour to make it a seditious conventicle, when they could have no proof of any sedition,

or unlawful act whatsoever, or colour of evidence thereof against it, or any of our meetings whatsoever.

"The manner of their proceeding to conviction against many of us, has been thus, viz. When apprehended and convened before the magistrates, and the officers or witnesses called, they declare they took such and such persons in such a conventicle or meeting. The magistrate ask, What did they do there? If the witness answers, he took such an one preaching, or teaching, or praying; and he be asked, What did he say? Commonly the witness or witnesses cannot remember one sentence, preached or prayed. However the persecuting magistrate takes it for granted, it was a seditious conventicle, though he has no proof of any sedition preached, taught, or uttered in prayer, nor any evidence or knowledge what was said, preached, or prayed, yet presently he passes judgment, enters conviction, and imprisons the persons convened.

"If any of the persons taken, confessed they were met to worship God in spirit and Truth, or to wait upon God. This the persecuting magistrates presently lay hold of, and say, That is enough, or they have confessed enough to convict them of a conventicle, or unlawful assembly.

"And if the witnesses, or informers, have no

evidence to give, of any matter of fact, or overt act, or colour of religious exercise done in the meeting; but only that the meeting was all in silence, as many times it hath been; yet the persecuting magistrates, or justices, would either make a riot, or unlawful assembly of such a quiet and silent meeting, when there was not the least appearance of a riot, force, or violence, nor any thing acted or spoken in terrorum, or to the hurt or injury of any one's person or property whatsoever.*

"When a persecuting justice with a constable and others comes huffing and stamping into the assembly, whether all be in silence or one preaching, and either commands the people to be pulled out of the meeting, or the doors to be shut to keep them in, and their names to be taken; the officers and other rude persons, either pull and hale people out till they are tired, or take names &c. until they are weary according as they have command. The justice then either imprisons, or fines many of the persons who are most noted, though he saw no

* Judge Bridgman charging a jury at Hertford, said: "You are not to expect a plain punctual evidence against them, for any thing they said or did at their meeting; for they may speak to one another, though not with articulate sounds, but by a *cast of the eye*, or *a motion of the head* or foot, or gesture of the body." *Sewel, vol. 2, page* 135. *Editor.*

fact committed, of any evil nature or tendency.

"Persecuting justices would easily receive informations against our religious meetings, how ignorant and impertinent soever they were. If an envious person or informer told the justice, that the Quakers were met under colour of religious exercise, contrary to the *Liturgy and practice of the Church of England*, and declared that there was preaching or praying in such a meeting, although he remembered not one word expressed in either; such ignorant evidence has been often deemed sufficient for conviction: the informer or witness thus presuming to be judge both of law and fact, when probably he understands not what the word *liturgy* means, nor can explain the propriety or extent of that term, or of the expression, *practice of the Church of England;* which practice is not limited to reading the common prayer. *"

* This passage may be illustrated by the views of some of the jurymen, on the trial of a number of Friends in London, for meeting for worship in *other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England.*

"The jury, in the first instance, brought in their verdict, that four of the prisoners were *not guilty*, and the rest they could not agree on. The judge (Hyde) being much displeased, sent them out again with fresh instructions; they returned with this verdict, *guilty of meeting but not of fact.* The judge inquiring what they meant by not guilty of fact, the jury replied: 'Here is

It was observable, as well as memorable, that as the rulers and government in those days were often warned of the impending judgments of God, if they would not desist and leave off their persecutions; so when they were making haste to have us banished out of the land, and especially out of the city of London and suburbs thereof, in the years 1664 and 1665, and for that end the gaols were often filled and crowded, whereby many innocent persons suffered death; God was pleased even then, in

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evidence that they met at the Bull and Mouth, therefore we say guilty of meeting: but no evidence of what they did there, and therefore we say, not guilty of meeting contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England.' The judge asked some of the jury, whether they did not believe in their consciences, that they were there under colour and pretence of worship? To which one of them replied: 'I do believe in my conscience, that they were met to worship in deed and in truth.' Another said: 'My lord, I have that venerable respect for the Liturgy of the Church of England, as to believe it is according to the Scriptures, which allow of the worship of God in spirit; and therefore I conclude, to worship God in spirit is not contrary to the Liturgy: if it be, I shall abate of my respect for it.'" *Gough, vol. 2, page 129.*

Such decision and good feeling were but rarely met with in the juries of those days; who in general united with judges and informers, in the *illegal* application of *unjust* laws. The king and the legislature, the judges and the people, were combined together to oppress tender consciences, in the support of the idol of uniformity:—who can wonder that such a nation was ripe for heavy calamities! *Editor.*

the year 1665, to hasten his heavy judgment and sad calamity of the great plague, or raging pestilence upon the said city, and some other places in the land, whereby many thousands of the inhabitants died; sometimes above six thousand in a week, of all sorts, both of good and evil, men and women, besides innocent children. Though the calamity was common to all classes, yet were the righteous taken away from the evil to come, and it went ill with the wicked; but for all this they would not return to the Lord; neither would the cruel persecutors repent of their abominable cruelties, but persisted therein as far as they could; disturbing our meetings and imprisoning, until they were frightened with the plague. Even in this time there were many of our innocent Friends confined in gaols, which seemed no small piece of barbarity and inhumanity, especially when the infectious contagion so greatly prevailed in the city. I have told some persons in authority of this cruelty, &c. to manifest what mercy their church then showed us, and that men of moderation or any compassion would be ashamed thereof.

In the year 1665, and in that very summer when the plague and mortality were so great, the persecutors in London were busy to send away our Friends whom they had sentenced for

banishment, and closely detained in prison in order thereto.

They begun soon in the year to force our Friends on shipboard. The first Friends they shipped to send away, were Edward Brush, Robert Hayes, and James Harding; who on the twenty-fourth day of the first month, 1665, were early in the morning, without any timely warning, hurried down from Newgate to Blackfriars stairs by the turnkeys, and from thence to Gravesend, and there forced on shipboard; the said Edward Brush being a very aged man, and a citizen of good repute among his neighbours and many persons of quality, yet was thus sent away and banished from his dear wife and child. But a more lamentable instance of the persecutors' cruelty in this undertaking was, that the said Robert Hayes being taken fasting out of prison, and weak in body, having been under a course of physic, was carried forth upon the water to Gravesend, the season being very cold; and having no outward refreshment or relief afforded him by the way on the water, within a very short time after he was put on shipboard he died there; and his body was brought up to London and buried in our Friends' burying place.

I knew this Robert Hayes; he was a very innocent, loving man, a good like person, had

a fresh, comely countenance, seemed healthy and in his prime strength when first imprisoned. I was very sorrowfully affected, when I heard how quickly he was dispatched out of the world, by that shameful cruelty and inhuman usage, inflicted upon him by those merciless persecutors.*

On the 18th of the second month, 1665, seven more of our Friends were taken out of Newgate and carried to Gravesend, and there put on shipboard for banishment, as the others were before.

Not many days after those Friends were embarked, one of the grand persecutors was suddenly cut off by death, namely, judge Hyde; who, it is said, was seen well at Westminster in the morning, and died in his closet about noon.

About this time the plague began to increase more and more, and the first that was known to die thereof in the city, was within a few doors of the said Edward Brush's house. And the plague so increased, until of that and other distempers, there died eight thousand in a week

* Edward Brush and James Harding were sent to Jamaica, where they were prosperous and lived in good circumstances. Edward Brush was an aged man at the time of his banishment, and left behind him a beloved wife and only child; but aged as he was, he survived the term of his exile, returned to his country, and died at home in peace. *Editor.*

in and about the city of London. Oh! the hardheartedness, cruelty, and presumption of our persecutors; who in that time of the great calamity and mortality, in the 5th month, 1665, took fifty five men and women, of our Friends, out of Newgate, and forced them on board the ship called the Black Eagle, which lay some time at Buggby's Hole; and the sickness being in Newgate, whence they were carried out to the ship, the distemper broke out among them when so crowded, that the most of them were infected; insomuch that about twenty-seven of them soon died on shipboard, some at Buggby's Hole and the rest beyond Gravesend.

I visited these Friends and had a meeting with them when on shipboard; and the Lord my God preserved me both from the distemper and from banishment, wherein I do humbly confess his power and special Providence, to his own praise and glory alone.

Having some times of respite between my imprisonments, before the sickness in London, I travelled to visit our Friends in the country, and sometimes into the northern counties; and near the beginning of that summer, 1665, when the pestilence was begun in London, I was in the county of Surrey, and having a meeting at John Smith's house at Worplesdon, his brother Stephen Smith and his wife, &c. came to the

meeting; where Stephen and his wife were convinced of the Truth, which the Lord enabled me to declare, and livingly to demonstrate, at that time, as at many other times and meetings.

I soon came to London, and my lodging was at the house of William Travers, tobacconist, in Watling Street.

It was a time of great calamity and sorrow, to many thousands of all sorts; and that which added to our Friends' affliction was, the hardness of our persecutors' hearts, their cruelty and barbarity in imprisoning and detaining many of them both in Newgate, London, and in the White Lion prison in Southwark, after the plague was greatly broken forth, and many people were swept away thereby.

I had not then freedom to leave the city, or Friends in and about London, in that time of great calamity, no, not when the mortality was at the height; but was concerned and given up in spirit to stay among them to attend Friends' meetings, to visit Friends, even when many of them lay sick of the contagion, both in prison and in their habitations. And in all that time the Lord preserved me by his power, from that infectious distemper; which mercy I esteemed great and wonderful, and hope ever thankfully to remember, in a living sense of the same Divine Hand which upheld and preserved me.

And although it was judged the prisons were then infected and poisoned with the contagion, I was freely given up to suffer imprisonment; and on first-days took my night-cap in my pocket when I went to meetings, not knowing but I might be apprehended and committed to prison. However, the Lord gave me faith to be resigned to his will, either to live or to die for his Name and Truth's sake; and through all those dangers and difficulties, to bear my testimony in faithfulness to his blessed Power and Light of righteousness; and He thereby sustained and wonderfully preserved my life, when the cry and sound of mortality was round about us, from one end and side of the city to another.

As the contagion and sickness increased, many of our persecutors were so terrified, that their hands were for some time weakened; yet still many of them were so hardened that they were resolved to proceed against us unto banishment: as when Pharoah saw there was respite, he hardened his heart, so did our persecutors, when the calamity did not come upon themselves; though they saw how it was abroad in the world, greatly destroying the inhabitants thereof: for it was observed in the weekly bill, that when the plague was most hot and violent in and about London, seven thousand one

hundred and sixty-five died thereof in one week; and in that year, 1665, of the same distemper, sixty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-six, according to the yearly bill.

I was then deeply concerned in my spirit for our Friends, to visit both such of them as were sick in prison and out of prison, even when some of them were very near death; being often in great suffering and travail of spirit, with earnest prayer and fervent supplications to God for them, who were sufferers by imprisonment and this visitation, that God would appear for them and plead their innocent cause, and afford them speedy help and deliverance. Being then a witness of that love which casts out fear, through the great mercy and love of my Heavenly Father manifested in his dear Son, I was not afraid to visit my Friends when sick and in infected prisons. The Lord did support and bear up my spirit in living faith, true and fervent love above the fear of death or the contagious distemper, and my life was resigned and given up, in the will of Him who gave it, for my Friends and brethren; for whose sake true Christian love would engage us to lay down our lives to save theirs, if required of the Lord so to manifest our unfeigned love one for another: and the Lord gave us great consolation, comfort, and courage; having

received certain testimony and evidence in our hearts, of the love of God which we did partake of in Christ Jesus, from which we believed no wrath of man, no persecutions, calamities, nor distresses should separate us.

In those times of severe trials, those questions and answers given by the apostle, *Rom.* viii. 35, &c. were often remembered: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written: For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us: for I am persuaded, that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

SECTION X.

*** The Oxford five mile act—George Whitehead addresses two epistles to Friends during their trials.—The great fire in London, 1666.—Friends continue their meetings.—George Whitehead continues principally in London—and marries in the year 1669.—In 1686 he lost his wife—and in 1688 married again.—The narrative reverts to the fire in London —A further act to prevent seditious conventicles in 1670.**

In consequence of the plague prevailing in London, the Parliament was convened this year at Oxford. The joint calamities of war and pestilence, which at this time distressed the city and nation, seemed to have made no profitable impression on the members of this Parliament, so as to incline them to a better temper towards the nonconformists. As if the sufferings of every class of the people were not sufficient, and as if the evil of nonconformity was the only sin of the nation, they proceeded to enact a fresh penal law, commonly known by the name of the "*Oxford five mile act;*" which received the royal assent, October the 31st, 1665. It required all parsons and others in holy orders, who had not subscribed the "*Act of Uniformity*,"

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* This notice of the Oxford act, is not in George Whitehead's memoirs.

to swear that *under any circumstances*, it was unlawful to take up arms against the king, and that they would not at any time endeavour *any alteration of government in church or state.* Those nonconformist ministers who would not subscribe this oath of *passive obedience*, were forbid under a penalty of forty pounds, except in passing the road, to come within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough that sends burgesses to Parliament, or within five miles of any parish, town, or place wherein they had, since the passing of the act of oblivion, been parsons, &c. or where they had preached in any conventicle. They were also rendered incapable of teaching any public or private schools, or of taking any boarders to be instructed, under the same penalty.

Though this act was principally aimed at the Presbyterians and Independents, who had formerly enjoyed the ecclesiastical emoluments, and many of them suffered severely from it; yet it was also frequently employed against the poor Quakers, by the tendering of them the oath; and thus, though from their peaceable principles they could readily declare that they held it unlawful to take up arms against the king, or to subvert either church or state, yet as they would not swear to it, they were frequently committed to prison. *See Sewel and Gough.*

It is observable that the prevalence of the plague had but little influence in checking the persecuting spirit. As to outward appearance, "One event happened to the righteous and the wicked;" men hardened their hearts, and did not seek to propitiate the Divine favour by amending their ways. Indeed, it would appear that the persecutors were disposed to attribute the calamity to the prevalence of *unorthodox notions*, rather than to the corrupt and vicious practices which were spread like a leprosy over the court and the people.

During these great trials, George Whitehead's faith appears to have been unshaken; and he addressed two affectionate and encouraging epistles to his Friends, whose spirits were saddened and cast down under the afflictions of the times; the latter written after the heat of the contagion was over: from both of them I shall give a few extracts.

FIRST EPISTLE.

"O, dear Friends!

"You that have received the testimony of God's love and salvation, and have tasted of the Power of an Endless Life, look not out nor be discouraged at the deep suffering and trial of the present time; though many have a deep sense thereof upon their spirits, and the hearts

of many be saddened, to see how universal this calamity and overflowing scourge is, in this day of sweeping, sifting, and trying; wherein the faith of many must be thoroughly tried, and their patience proved, to the resignment of life and all into the will of the Father, in whose hands we are; who knows what is best for his children, and whose ways are not to be measured nor found out by the wisdom of man; for his works and proceedings are in a cross to all carnal reason and expectations, and to the confounding thereof. But they who, in the faith and patience of Christ, do give up to his will, as those that live by faith in Him, and whose hope and refuge the Lord is, such shall never be confounded nor afraid, though the earth be removed; neither shall they be discouraged or unsettled because of the wicked, who, when he is in great power, flourishes like a green bay-tree; for he passeth away and shall not be found. And he that enters into the sanctuary of the Lord, and there abides, shall see the end of his enemies and persecutors, who stand in slippery places, though for a time they have seemed to prosper in the world.

"And dear Friends, who have a sense of the sufferings of the Righteous Seed, which bears the afflictions, sorrows, and sufferings of God's people through all, and hath been

bruised and wounded under the weight and burden of people's iniquities; though He has been deemed as one plagued or smitten of God—all of you keep in the sense of the power of Christ, by which you may feel your preservation, through faith in Him who is given for a Covenant of Life and Light; and retire to Him who is manifest for a sure Hiding Place to the upright, in the day of calamity and hour of temptation;" in Him you will witness plenteous redemption, and the refreshments of his Life, over all the troubles and sufferings of the present time, and over all fears and doubtings which thereupon would beset any of you, to weaken you either inwardly or outwardly.

"And let none admit unbelief or hard thoughts, nor be shaken in mind because of the deep sufferings of many of the dear servants of the Lord at this day, who are as killed and crucified, and all the day long accounted as sheep for the slaughter; nor at the great calamity and mortality in this fading city, which extends to the upright and innocent, as well as to the unrighteous; and to divers of the sufferers for Truth in their confinements, who have not contributed to the cause of God's displeasure herein, but are taken away in mercy as to them, and from the evil to come; being delivered and set in safety from the future cruelties, and wicked

designs of their oppressors and cruel minded persecutors, who have hunted for the blood of the innocent; and may not only be charged with not visiting Christ when He was sick and in prison, but also with killing and murdering Him in prison; inasmuch as it is done to any of his little ones, by their cruel confinements in pestilential or poisonous places. But we know that for the faithful assuredly remains victory, triumph, and everlasting safety, though it be through death to many of them; who know that it is neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor death, nor life, &c. that shall be able to separate from the love of Christ: and hereof we have a sure evidence and living confidence, in the Name and Power of the Lord our God: to whom be glory and praises for ever!"

SECOND EPISTLE. "Yea, blessed for ever be the Name of our God, who hath given us strength and courage to stand in an evil day, over hell, and death, and the devil, with all his fiery darts and fierce assaults against the righteous. The Lord hath spared and will spare a remnant, to bear his mark and Name upon earth, and to hold forth a living testimony for his glory and praise amongst the sons of men; for which many have not loved their lives unto death, but

have offered up their lives; as many manifestly did in that city of London the last summer, when such a sore visitation and calamity was upon that place, wherein many offered up life and all, for the Truth and their afflicted brethren and sisters; for whose sakes my soul has been often so greatly bowed down and afflicted, that neither life itself, nor any outward privilege, did seem too dear to me to resign, or offer up for their sakes.

"And the life, peace, satisfaction, and comfort, that many innocent Friends felt, and that some expressed and signified on their death-beds, I am a living witness of for them; having at some times, as the Lord hath drawn me in his love, been present with many of them, when they were very low in the outward man, and with divers when upon their death beds, both in that destructive place of Newgate and some other places. Yea, when sorrow and sadness have seized upon my spirit, and my heart and soul have been pierced and wounded when I have seen the sad sufferings of so many harmless lambs, when they were on their sick-beds in these noisome holes and prisons: yet at the same time, having had a deep sense and knowledge of the Lord's love and care to them in that condition, and having truly felt his Life and Power stirring amongst them; this, on the

other hand, has refreshed and revived my spirit, knowing that Christ, their Salvation and Redemption, was manifest to and in them, though in that suffering state. Having followed and obeyed Him through sufferings and tribulations, with such to live was Christ, even in that state; and to die was gain : it being through death that the Lord had appointed the final deliverance of many, from the cruelties and rod of their oppressors, and from the miseries and evils to come.

" And also the faithfulness, uprightness, and innocency of divers of those that were taken away, and their constancy of spirit to the Lord and his living Truth, and their unfeigned love to the brethren, by the which it was evident they had passed from death to life, and that living and faithful testimony they did bear for the Lord in their life time, being well known and manifest amongst us; their memorial is truly precious to us, and never to be forgotten; and we are satisfied that they were counted worthy for the Lord; and the world was not worthy of them.

" And now if such as take advantage against us on the occasion aforesaid, whether they be open or secret smiters or enemies, did either rightly or seriously come to weigh their conditions, and let God's witness judge in the case,

they have no cause to boast, glory, or insult over us, or against us; for that they are not their own keepers, nor is their life continued by their own power; and how soon their time may be expired and their judgment overtake them, they know not, nor how soon their days may be cut asunder. Certainly their condemnation slumbers not, who in the pride of their hearts and presumption of their spirits, turn against the suffering Seed of God, under what profession and pretence soever. And knowing also, that many that were of their own spirit and principle, have also been taken away under the same calamity; for it has extended to all sorts, both holy and profane; they have cause to dread and fear before the Lord, and not to be high-minded nor presumptuous; for the mouth of the boaster and exalted must be stopped, and all flesh and carnal reason is to be silent in this matter, for God's power is over it all.

"Now my dear Friends and tender hearts, commit your way to the Lord, and cast your burden upon Him, and He will bear you up and sustain you, by his own right hand of power. And live in the Immortal Seed and spiritual communion, where Life and peace is daily received, and your mutual refreshment and consolation stands, and wherein the spirits of just men are seen and felt, and the life of

God's faithful servants and martyrs, and such as have finished their testimony with joy and peace, is enjoyed; even in this spiritual communion, which reaches beyond all visibles, and is above all mortal and fading objects or things. So in the dear and tender love of God, which dwells and lives in my heart towards you and all the faithful every where, I commit you to Him in whom our help and deliverance is; and in the kingdom of Christ's patience, am your dear and faithful friend and brother,

"G. W."

The next year, after the city and suburbs of London were so greatly thinned and depopulated by the plague, the dreadful fire began, and broke out in Pudding-Lane, over against the place where the monument stands; whereby, in a few days time, a very great part of the city, within the walls, was burnt down and the habitations consumed, except a few streets and parts of streets, to the great amazement, terror, and distraction of the inhabitants; who were forced to flee for their lives, with what goods they could save, into Moorfields and the out parts, and there to lie abroad with their goods for several nights and days; the country bringing in bread, &c. for their relief. Oh! my soul greatly pitied the inhabitants, when I saw them

lie in the fields, in that poor mournful condition.

One passage I may not omit by the way, because it has been misrepresented and false reports spread about it, viz. one Thomas Ibbott, or Ibbit, a Huntingdonshire man, came to London two days before the fire, in great haste, being on a sixth day of the week, and alighted off his horse with his clothes loose, (supposed by some to be a person under distraction or discomposure of mind, as I understood by divers,) and very much hastened or run through the city, toward Whitehall, in such a like posture as many of the inhabitants were forced to flee from the fire, when they had scarce time to put on or fasten their wearing clothes about them; such a sign he appeared to be, and foretold his vision which he had before, that the city would be laid waste by fire, according as I was informed; for I saw him not until that day's morning when the fire was broken out. But the evening after the said Thomas Ibbott had passed through the city, I met with some of our women Friends at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, who gave me a pretty full account of him; how he had been with them that day, and told them his vision of the fire and message to London; and that to them he appeared very zealous and hot in his spirit,

when he told them thereof; and they were afraid he was under some discomposure of mind, which made them somewhat question or doubt of what he told them.

Yet I was not at that time without some secret fear, concerning this Friend Thomas Ibbott, lest he might run out, or be exalted by the enemy into some conceit or imagination or other, especially when he saw his vision come to pass the next morning. It was when the fire had broken out as aforesaid, from the place where it began, and early in the morning was got down to the bridge and Thames-street, the wind easterly and so high that it drove the fire more violently and irresistibly before it, blowing great flakes over houses and from one to another.

Also in a letter of his, a few days before the fire was over, he mentioned the true number of days when the vision of fire should be accomplished; so that he had a certain vision and discovery given him in that particular. And to show that there remained a sincerity in the man, when his mind came to be settled he wrote a letter to some Friends in London, wherein, after remembering his love to G. W. J. C. and S. H. he hath these words following, viz.

"I dare not much stir up or down any ways, for people's looking at what was done, lest the

Lord should be offended, farther then my own outward business lies.

"I have been much tempted and exercised; yet through mercy have found help in the needful time. Whatsoever slips or failings Friends saw in me, in the time I was with them, I would have none take notice of; for I was under great exercises and often run too fast, which the Lord in his due time gave me a sight of. In the love of my Father, farewell,

"T. I." *

* Though by no means anxious to search after what may be deemed the *marvellous* in connexion with the history of our Society, deeming the gift of *prophesy*, in the sense of *speaking unto men to edification*, more to be esteemed than the speaking in unknown tongues or than other marvellous gifts, yet neither am I disposed to exclude all extraordinary circumstances from religious history or biography. Nothing is more fallacious than *our* schemes of what is fitting to the Divine economy. Both in nature and in grace it may truly be said, that "God moves in a mysterious way;" and I cannot see either the philosophy or the piety of denying *well authenticated* facts, because we may not be able to reconcile them with our system, or with what is called the natural course of things. Let what is extraordinary be carefully investigated—but surely well authenticated testimony in regard to facts, is stronger evidence than any which can be brought against it, drawn from our notions of the Divine economy. If we could see the whole course of Divine Providence, we should probably find that many of our wisest generalizations had been hasty and imperfect, and have in regard to these, to confess that we had known but a very *small portion of the Divine ways*. It is reasonable therefore to expect many exceptions to our

When the city was burnt down and laid in ashes, we had our meetings on the fourth-day, weekly, near Wheeler-street; our usual place,

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rules; and it is the part of true philosophy to collect rather than to reject them.

Whatever might be the weakness of the man, how, without some supernatural direction, he should be led to proclaim the approach of so extraordinary an event, is to me inexplicable. Of those who admit the authenticity of the fact, many will probably attribute the presentiment to a morbid brainular action, and assert that such an instrument could not be employed to declare the Divine displeasure at the prevailing profligacy and cruelty, and to call men, by the evidence of the Divine prescience and retributive Providence, to turn from the evil of their ways. I confess I cannot so philosophize; but whatever may be the true explication of the circumstances, I beg it may be observed that the weakness of the man appears to have been rightly estimated by his friends; and that neither before nor subsequently to this extraordinary affair, was he a person of any influence in the Society.

This observation will be confirmed by Sewell's account of the transaction: "Thomas Ibbit of Huntingdonshire came to London a few days before the burning of that city, and, as hath been related by eye-witnessess, did upon his coming thither alight from his horse, and unbutton his clothes in so loose a manner as if they had been put on in haste, just out of bed. In this manner he went about the city on the sixth, being the day he came there, and also the seventh day of the week, pronouncing a judgment by fire, which should lay waste the city. On the evening of those days, some of his friends had meetings with him, to enquire concerning his message and call to pronounce that impending judgment; in his account whereof he was not more particular and

the Bull and Mouth, being then demolished by the fire, at which place our meetings had been most disturbed; and at other out parts, off and about the city, we kept our meetings at the usual times and places, as at the Peel in St. John's street, Westminster; Horslydown, on Southwark side; Ratcliff, Devonshire-house, Old Buildings; and then had some respite and ease from violent persecution and disturbance

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clear than that he said, he had had for some time the vision thereof, but had delayed to come and declare it as commanded, until he felt, as he expressed it, the fire in his own bosom; which message or vision was very suddenly proved to be sadly true. The fire begun on the 2nd of September, 1666, on the first-day of the week; which did immediately follow those two days, the said Thomas Ibbit had gone about the city declaring that judgment.

"Having gone up and down the city as hath been said, when afterwards he saw the fire break out, and beheld the fulfilling of his prediction, a spiritual pride seized on him, which if others had not been wiser than he, might have tended to his utter destruction; for the fire being come as far as the east end of Cheapside, he placed himself before the flame, and spread his arms forth, as if to stay the progress of it; and if one Thomas Matthews, with others, had not pulled him, seeming now altogether distracted, from thence, it was like he might have perished by the fire. Yet in process of time, as I have been told, he came to some recovery, and confessed this error: an evident proof of human weakness, and a notorious instance of our frailty, when we assume to ourselves the doing of any thing which Heaven alone can enable us."—*Vol.* ii. *p.* 199, 200. *Editor.*

for a time, until the city came in a great measure to be rebuilt.

Yet still the persecuting spirit and design of persecution remained in our adversaries: so many of them as were not cut off by the plague took no warning thereby, nor by the subsequent consuming fire which had laid waste the best part of the city.

Though the Lord our God was pleased to give our Friends in London, faith and courage as well as resolution to build our meeting-house in White-Hart court, by Grace-church street; yet we were not then without expectation of further persecution and suffering, for meeting in that as well as other places in and about the city. And so it came to pass after the said meeting-house was built; our meetings were frequently disturbed, especially on first days of the week, by the trained bands and informers; and many of us by force haled out, and our meetings often kept in the street, where sometimes we had opportunities openly to declare the Truth and preach the Gospel, as well as publicly to pray to Almighty God; yet not always suffered so to do, but often in the very time violently pulled away, whilst in the exercise of the Gospel ministry; and likewise

when we have been in solemn prayer to Almighty God, we have been laid hold on and violently taken, and many of us had to the Exchange, and there kept under a guard of soldiers until the afternoon; and then had before the mayor, who would be ready to fine or imprison us, or otherwise to bind us over to appear at the sessions, or rather to take our words to appear, if he was a person of some moderation towards us: and the latter obligation we rather chose, that was, conditionally to promise we would appear if the Lord pleased, rather than be bound by recognizance or bond to appear; because commonly in their recognizances they would put the words, "and in the mean time to be of the good behaviour." But we could not assent to be so bound; because we knew they would interpret our religious, solemn meetings a breach of "the good behaviour;" which meetings we could never yield to decline.

But as for me, my share has been imprisonment oftener than liberty upon parole or promise, being more cautious of being any ways ensnared thereby, contrary to my Christian liberty and testimony, than of imprisonment or outward confinement; which was not only my own care, respecting my inward peace and liberty in Christ Jesus, but it was also the care of all

faithful Friends and brethren in those days, to keep out of all such snares as would infringe that liberty. We chose rather to expose our persons to be trampled on in the streets, by our persecuting adversaries, if permitted, than bow down our souls at their command. *Isa.* li. 23.

Although in those suffering times, I was much concerned to attend our Friends' disturbed meetings in and about London, yet at sundry times I had a concern laid upon me to visit our Friends and their meetings in the county of Surrey, particularly on that side where our dear Friend Stephen Smith and his family lived; they having not long before that time, in great love, received the Truth through my testimony, as before related; and I visited and had divers good and blessed meetings in those parts, both at Stephen Smith's house at Purbright, and other places towards Guilford; where the Lord was with me, helped and comforted me in his work and service, as at other times and places.

George Whitehead apprehending that his post in serving and suffering for the cause he had espoused, was, in future, likely to be chiefly in London, he thought of entering into the

married state and settling there; and in the year 1669, he married Ann Greenwel, a widow residing in London; who, it appears, was a person much esteemed for her piety and attachment to the cause of Truth, of which she had been one of the first receivers.

She was considerably older than her husband; but the connexion appears to have furnished a true help-meet to him, until her death in the year 1686. He remained a widower two years, during which he had some doubts whether he should marry again; but having earnestly sought the Lord to direct him aright, he felt freedom to enter again into the married state; (being also encouraged in the step by his Friends;) and made proposals to a Friend of the Name of Ann Goddard, "an honest and virtuously inclined maid;" who was considerably younger than himself, and of whom and their connexion he says: "She was an ingenious and careful wife; and we were mutually comforted together, in true love and tender affection. We had but one child, which the Lord took away, it dying in the birth. Howbeit, He (the Lord) so sanctified that and other disappointments and afflictions to us, in this lower world, that He gave us faith and patience to bear them, and to look above, beyond all ex-

ternal objects of delight and afflictions here below, which are but momentary, to an eternal inheritance in his heavenly kingdom. Glory to His excellent Name for ever!"

END OF VOL. I.

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